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CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS

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CICERO'S SECOND PHILIPPIC

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

KARL HALM.

EDITED

WITH LARGE ADDITIONS BY

JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A.

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VIRO EGREGIO,

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QUOD IPSIUS EST.

ELOQUIUM AC FAMAM DEMOSTHENIS AUT CICERONIS
INCIPIT OPTARE ET TOTIS QUINQUATRIBUS OPTAT,
QUISQUIS ADHUC UNO PARCAM COLIT ASSE MINERVAM,
QUEM SEQUITUR CUSTOS ANGUSTAE VERNULA CAPSAE.
ELOQUIO SED UTERQUE PERIT ORATOR, UTRUMQUE
LARGUS ET EXUNDANS LETO DEDIT INGENII FONS.
INGENIO MANUS EST ET CERVIX CAESA, NEC UMQUAM
SANGUINE CAUSIDICI MADUERUNT ROSTRA PUSILLI.
'O FORTUNATAM NATAM ME CONSULE ROMAM!'
ANTONI GLADIOS POTUIT CONTEMNERE, SI SIC
OMNIA DIXISSET. RIDENDA POEMATA MALO,
QUAM TE CONSPICUAE, DIVINA PHILIPPICA, FAMAE,
VOLVERIS A PRIMA QUAE PROXIMA.

IUVEN. *SATIR.* X. 114—126.

CONTENTS.

CONTRACTIONS, ETC.

ap.	apud	Intr.	Introduction
constr.	construction	l. c.	loco citato
esp.	especially	n.	note
exx.	examples	sc.	scilicet
=	equal to	)(	opposed to

LIST OF BOOKS

Useful to the Student of Cicero.

HISTORY. With this speech should be read Plutarch's lives of Pompeius, Cicero, Cæsar, Brutus and Antonius (translated, with others, by Mr Long in his 'Civil Wars of Rome,' forming five of 'Knight's Shilling Volumes'). Cf. Dio (as far as b. XLVI.), Caesar b. c., Appian b. c. (II—IV.), Suet. Caes., Velleius (II. 29—66), Mr Merivale's 'Fall of the Roman Republic,' and Abeken's 'Account of the Life and Writings of Cicero,' 1854. To the scholar perhaps no books on ancient history are more useful than W. H. Suringar's 'M. Tullii Ciceronis commentarii de vita sua. Accesserunt Annales Ciceroniani. Leidae. 1854,' and Orelli's 'Onomasticon Tullianum.' [Forsyth's Life of Cic.]

CHRONOLOGY. Zumpt's 'Annales' (reprinted by Mr T. K. Arnold) for schools. Fischer's 'römische Zeittafeln' (Altona, 1846, 4to, consisting chiefly of extracts from ancient authors) for the university.

LEXICONS. The large lexicons of Gesner, Scheller, and even Forcellini, may now be bought for the same sum as the abridgements of Freund's abridgement of Forcellini. To the scholar nothing can supply the place of these great storehouses of the facts of the language. For Cicero specially, Ernesti's Clavis (ed. 6. Halle, 1831, 8vo) is very convenient. The 'Lexicon Ciceronianum' of Schütz (Lips. 1819) and that of Nizolius (best ed. Patav. 1734, fol.) should be added by the more advanced scholar. Merguet's complete 'Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero. Jena, Mauke,' small fol. has been brought down to 'ingredior.'

EDITIONS. a. Rhetorical works. Ellendt's 'de oratore' (Königsb. 1840, 2 vols. 8vo) and 'Brutus' (ib. 1844), 8vo. A. S. Wilkins 'de or. Oxf. 1879,' vol. I.

b. Speeches. With Lat. notes by Halm, Lipsiae, 'p. Sulla,' 1845; 'p. Sestio,' 1845; 'in Vatinium,' 1846; 'de imper. Cn. Pompei,' 1848. In the same series 'p. Caecina,' 1847, by Jordan.—'p. Plancio,' Lips. 1830, 4to, by Wunder.—'p. Cluentio,' with English notes by Prof. Ramsay (2d ed.).—'p. Archia' and 'p. Balbo' by J. S. Reid, Cambr. 1879. 'Catilin.' and 'p. leg. Manil.' by A. S. Wilkins after Halm. 'p. Murena' and 'div. in Caecil. in Verr. act. I,' by W. E. Heitland, Camb. 1877.

c. Philosophical works. 'de finibus,' Hauniae, 1876, by Madvig; 'Laelius,' Lips. 1828, by C. Beier; 'de officiis,' ibid. 1820 1821, by the same. 'Tusc. disp.' Jenae. 1853, by R. Kühner. 'de officiis' by H. A. Holden, Cambr. 1879. 'Academica' by J. S. Reid, Camb. 1874. 'n. d.' by J. B. Mayor, vol. I. Camb. 1880. 'Cato' and 'Laelius' by J. S. Reid, Cambr. 1879. See my 'Bibliographical clue to lat. literature. Macmillan 1875.' J. B. Mayor 'guide to the choice of classical books. Bell. 1879.'

ADVERTISEMENT.

HAVING long regarded Halm's commentaries on Cicero as admirably fitted to spread a sound knowledge of those writings, which are the test* of proficiency in Latin, I did not hesitate to recommend his edition to the class, with which I read the Second Philippic in the last October term. As however the book was not accessible to all my hearers, I determined to put the introduction and notes into an English dress.

I have endeavoured to translate the introduction tolerably closely; with the notes I have taken greater liberties, abridging, enlarging, or omitting, at discretion; where Halm gives a reference to a classic, I have generally printed the passage at length; where the reference is to his own notes on other speeches, or to modern books, I have worked in the additional matter; I have also rendered into English the numerous Greek quotations.

My own additions†, which have grown to a far greater bulk than I had intended, have been drawn, i. from the ancient authorities for the history of the period, which I have carefully read over again for the purpose; ii. from my own marginal references, and grammatical, historical, and antiquarian collections; iii. from the notes of previous commentators‡, among

* Quintilian.

† Enclosed in crotchets [ ], with a few unimportant exceptions. The same mark in the *text* of the speech denotes an interpolation.

‡ Quintilian's observations I have quoted at length. I have also gone through the prolix variorum notes (500 pages, double columns, in Wernsdorf's edition); the commentary of Manutius; the notes of Orelli's smaller edition (Cic. Oratt. sel. XV. Turici, 1836); the prefaces of Madvig (Cic. Oratt. sel. XII. I have used the second, third, and fourth editions, Hauniae, 1841, 1848, 1858, and the preface of the first ed., ibid. 1830, printed in his opuscula

whom the learned Jesuit Nicolas Abram deserves special commendation; if he has often given me the labour of hunting through a whole volume to verify a reference, I do not grudge the time so spent, for I generally found much by the way to reward the search; iv. from Drumann's Geschichte Roms, Becker's Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer continued by Marquardt*, Fischer's römische Zeittafeln, Pauly's Real-encyklopädie, and Mr Bunbury's careful articles on the geography of ancient Italy; v. from the principal grammars†; if I have everywhere referred to those of Zumpt and Madvig, it is only because they contain more examples than their English rivals. Of Nägelsbach's Lateinische Stylistik I have made very frequent use.

Throughout the book what has been taken from others has been acknowledged; a scholar to whom the cause of sound grammatical learning is greatly indebted, Mr Shilleto, has kindly furnished the remarks distinguished by his name or initials (R. S.).

The copious 'argument' may, I hope, supersede that coward's aid, a literal translation.

It is perhaps necessary to add, that I have purposely refrained from looking into any English notes on the speech. [1861]

I. 111 seq.; the substance of his notes from these and other works is here incorporated); and the critical notes of the Zürich edition. I have further consulted, but to no purpose, the notes of Klotz (Cicero's sämmtliche Reden, Band 3. Leipzig. 1839), and Winckler (or. Phil. II. adnott. in us. scholarum illustrata. Marburg. 1829), the German translation of Wernsdorf, and the text of Frotscher.

* I have cited this as 'Becker,' where the volume and page are given, but have elsewhere named Marquardt.

† See the list in Dr. Donaldson's Latin Grammar.

INTRODUCTION.

MARCUS ANTONIUS[1] was grandson of the cele- § 1
brated orator of the same name, who as a zealous partisan of the aristocracy[2] was put to death by order of Marius and Cinna B.C. 87. The father's spirit had not descended upon his sons. The elder, Marcus, father of the triumvir, when as proprætor (B.C. 74) he assumed the command against the pirates, abused his extensive powers[3] to plunder the provinces with whose protection he was charged, and tarnished the honour of the Roman arms by an incapacity, which
drew upon him the nickname Creticus. The younger, § 2
Gaius, as consul B.C. 63, betrayed his sympathy for the designs of Catilina, but wanted courage openly to declare himself. The shameless extortions of which, as proconsul of Macedonia (62—60), he was guilty, led to his banishment, nor was he recalled until shortly before Cæsar's death[4]. Thus the earliest impressions of Marcus' boyhood were none of the best;

1) Cf. Drumann *Geschichte Roms*, I. 64 sq. Brückner's account of the same period (*Leben des M. Cicero*, I. 698 seq.) is inexact and uncritical. 2) Phil. I. §§ 27, 34. [Cf. II. §§ 42 111. The orator Ant. is an interlocutor in Cic. de or.] 3) Cic. Verr. II. § 8, III. § 213, Vell. II. 31. § 3. 4) II. § 98 n. [§§ 56, 99.] In what year Cæsar recalled him cannot be determined; Dio XLIII. 27 seems to favour B.C. 47, Appian (bell. civ. II. 107) B.C. 45.

but the example of his stepfather, P. Lentulus[5] the confederate of Catilina, who died a traitor's death by the hand of the executioner, may have been still more pernicious. It is remarked by Plutarch[6], that it was the execution of Lentulus that sowed in the heart of Antonius the seeds of an implacable hatred against
§ 3 Cicero. From the pictures of Antonius' youth which his enemy has drawn, however overcharged they may be by party spirit, we cannot doubt that the young Marcus soon plunged into the grossest excesses of every kind. Thus the small fortune which his father left him*, was quickly squandered[7]; notwithstanding which he persisted in maintaining his place in the theatre among the seats of the knights[8]. His engaging person†, the charm of his manner, his lively and empassioned temperament, worked upon young voluptuaries with an extraordinary force of attraction. In the society of such companions Antonius gave himself up to sensuality, and sank to the lowest depths of degradation in his intercourse with the profligate C. Curio[9], who on his part supplied the partner of his lusts with the means of continuing his dissolute life. Thus he became surety for Antonius to the large amount of 6,000,000 sesterces; a debt

5) §§ 14, 18 n. 6) Ant. 2. cf. Cic. Phil. II. § 17. [* Cf. Plut. Ant. 1, Cic. Phil. II. § 42, Dio XLV. 47, XLVI. 14.] 7) § 44: *praetextatum te decoxisse.* 8) § 44. [† His noble presence, broad forehead, goodly beard, and Roman nose, occasioned comparisons between him and Hercules. Plut. Ant. 4.] 9) §§ 3 seq. 44 seq. Vell. II. 48, § 3: *Bello civili non alius maiorem flagrantioremque quam C. Curio tribunus pl. subiecit facem, vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingeniosissime nequam et facundus malo publico, cuius animo neque opes ullae neque cupiditates sufficere possent.*

which Curio's father long refused to discharge, and when at last he did so at Cicero's entreaty, it was only on the condition that the impure commerce of the young men should be entirely dissolved[10].

B.C. 58, when the notorious P. Clodius was tribune § 4
of the people, Antonius, being then about 25 years of age, attached himself to him, and for a time supported his plans[11]. A breach however soon ensued, whether because the frantic violence of the tribune alarmed Antonius[12], or because an intrigue of Antonius with Fulvia[13], (who became afterwards[14] his third[15] wife), awoke the jealousy of her husband Clodius. In the same year Antonius left Italy for Greece, where he employed himself partly in rhetorical exercises, partly in bodily training for a soldier's career[16]. From these § 5
pursuits he was called off by A. Gabinius, whose acquaintance he had probably made while an adherent of Clodius. In the year 57 on Gabinius' invitation he accompanied him to Syria, as *praefectus equitum*[17]; and was also at his side, when in B.C. 55,

10) §§ 45 seq. 11) § 48. 12) So Plut. Ant. 2: 'Soon being cloyed with Clodius' extravagance, and fearing those who were combining against him, Antonius left Italy.' 13) § 48: *cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est*; cf. § 99: *filiam eius (C. Antonii) eiecisti, alia condicione quaesita et ante perspecta.* 14) After her second husband, the above mentioned C. Scribonius Curio (Phil. II. §§ 11 and 113), had fallen fighting on Cæsar's side in Africa B.C. 49. Fulvia's marriage with Antonius took place in the latter half of the year 47 (Plut. Ant. 10. cf. Phil. II. § 69 about the divorce from Cytheris). 15) Fadia, daughter of Q. Fadius a freedman (Phil. II. § 3, cf. ad Att. XVI. 11. § 1 there quoted [and Phil. XIII. § 23]), was his first wife, his second Antonia, daughter of his uncle C. Antonius (hence *soror*, i.e. *patruelis*, § 99), whom he put away B.C. 47 on suspicion of adultery with Dolabella (ibid. Plut. Ant. 9). 16) Plut. Ant. 2. 17) Plut. 3: 'when Gabinius, a consular, on his voyage to Syria urged him to join in his expedition, he

unauthorised either by the senate or the people, he deserted his province, in order to reinstate king Ptolemy Auletes on the throne of Egypt[18]. As commander of cavalry Antonius had opportunity for the first time of making himself known to fame; he displayed great wariness and decision in action, and by his humanity and courtesy left behind him an honoured name[19] in Alexandrea.

§ 6 When in the year 54 Gabinius returned to Italy, Antonius offered his services to C. Iulius Cæsar, who was then in northern Gaul[20]. Cæsar's eagle eye discovered in the bold and ambitious young man the fitting instrument for the furtherance of his own designs. In order however to support Cæsar's cause with the necessary external authority, it was indispensable that Antonius should obtain admission to the senate by filling public offices. Accordingly he returned (B.C. 53) to Rome, furnished by Cæsar with recommendations, to Cicero[21] among others, and probably also with supplies of money, to sue for the quæstorship. Cicero, flattered by Cæsar's application, lent his countenance to Antonius the more readily, because the latter, while still a candidate for the quæstorship, on an occasion of which the particulars are unknown, stoutly assaulted the constant disturber

§ 7 of the public peace, P. Clodius[22]. Immediately on

refused to go in a private capacity, but accepted the call when appointed to a command of cavalry.' [18] § 48. According to Plut. l. c. it was Antonius, who emboldened the hesitating Gabinius to undertake the illegal expedition. [19]) Plut. l. c. 'On this account he left behind him a very high reputation in Alexandrea, and won the admiration of the Roman troops.' [20]) § 48: *in ultimam Galliam.* [21]) § 49. [22]) §§ 21, 49, p. Mil. § 40. [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 40].

his appointment Antonius returned to Cæsar, to administer the office under him[23], without either awaiting the decision of the lot[24], or being commissioned by express mandate of the people[25]. The motive for this neglect of legal rules lay, as Cicero asserts[26], in the pecuniary embarrassments of Antonius, which could only be retrieved in a province where rich booty was to be had.

In the beginning of the year 50 Antonius left § 8
Gaul, where he had also found opportunity for acquiring further mastery in the practice of war, and returned to the city, in order to canvass for a seat in the college of augurs which had been vacated by the death of Q. Hortensius. By the energetic interposition of Cæsar[27], and by the agitation of the tribune C. Curio[28], he succeeded in defeating the candidate of the aristocratical party, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. The influence of Curio, who as tribune had accepted a bribe from Cæsar to betray the cause of the republic[29], of which he had been before the champion, procured for Antonius in the same year the office of tribune of the people[30]. His administration of this magistracy

[23]) §§ 50 and 71: *imperatoris quaestor.* [24]) The quæstors drew lots for their *provincia* on the nones of December, or. Catil. IV. § 15. [ad Att. VI. 6. § 4. Cf. Liv. XXX. 33. § 4: *quaestoris extra sortem ex scnatus consulto.*] [25]) This is the meaning of *sine lege* (§ 50). [26]) § 50. [27]) de bell. Gall. VIII. 50. [28]) § 4. [29]) Dio XL. 60 seq. [Luc. I. 269: *venali . . . Curio lingua.* ib. IV. 819, 820: *momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum, | Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.*] [30]) Plut. Ant. 5. 'Curio the friend of Antonius, changing sides espoused the cause of Cæsar, and brought over Antonius. Partly by the great popularity which he had won by his eloquence, partly by means of the sums of money which Cæsar supplied with no niggardly hand, he carried the election of Antonius, first as tribune, next as one of those priests who have the care of the auspices, and are called augurs.'

fell in the year so critical for the history of Rome, B.C. 49, in which the long smouldering fires of civil war burst into flames. The position of tribune gave Antonius the desired opportunity of proving his gratitude to his patron Cæsar, and of working with effect upon the course of events; it appears however a mere rhetorical exaggeration, when Cicero visits upon his head the entire responsibility of the war[31]. Yet this accusation was at least nearer the truth than the like charge brought by Antonius against Cicero, as the fomenter of enmity between Cæsar and Pompeius[32].

§ 9 After long and unavailing negotiations between Cæsar and the senate, his creature Curio in the session of 1 Jan. 49 presented to the consuls L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus a letter from Cæsar, containing his ultimatum: 'he was prepared to lay down his imperium, in case Pompeius would do the same; but if Pompeius retained his, he too would not retire into a private station, but must take the necessary measures for his own safety.' The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus with difficulty obtained permission to have the letter read in the senate; all discussion of its contents was denied. The question was put upon the general state of the commonwealth[33]. The proposal of Metellus Scipio, that Cæsar should be summoned to discharge his troops by a certain day, on pain of being proclaimed a public enemy[34], was carried by a majority, who persisted

31) §§ 50 seq. cf. Plut. Ant. 6, [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 27.]
32) § 23. 33) Caes. b. civ. I. 1: *referunt consules de re publica.*
34) Caes. I. 2: *ut ante diem certam exercitum dimittat; si non faciat, eum adversus rem publ. facturum videri.* Cf. Cic. ep. ad fam. XVI. 12. § 3 seq.

in it in spite of the *intercession* of the two tribunes. With respect to the intercession the assembly was specially asked, whether it should be acknowledged as valid[35]; the answer returned was in the negative, yet it does not appear that on this and the following days any formal conclusion was adopted. Not until § 10 the decisive session of 6 Jan. were the two tribunes, who stiffly adhered to their protest, ejected from the *curia* by the consul Lentulus, and warned to provide for their own safety[36]. Antonius rose from his seat swelling with rage, and hurried from the *curia*, after invoking the gods as witnesses of the desecration of the hallowed office. In the following night he with Cassius and Curio left the city in a hired carriage and made the best of his way to Cæsar[37]. After the departure of the two tribunes the senate decreed: *darent operam consules, praetores, tribuni pl. quique pro consulibus essent ad urbem, ne quid res publica*

35) Caes. l. c. *Refertur confestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur sententiae graves* etc. Cic. Phil. II. § 52: *neque frequens senatus agendo te de sententia movere potuit.* 36) Liv. periochae l. 109: *M. Antonius et Q. Cassius tr. pl., quoniam intercessionibus id senatus consultum impediebant, urbe pulsi sunt.* Caes. b. civ. I. 5: *de sua salute septimo* (reckoning from 1 Jan.) *die cogitare coguntur, quod illi turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus tribuni pl. octavo denique mense suarum actionum respicere ac timere consuerant*: whence we learn that from the 7th of Jan. their *potestas sacrosancta* ceased to protect them. Hence Cicero's statements, Phil. II. §§ 51, 52. Cicero's forebodings (in a letter written B.C. 50) are interesting [ad Att. VII. 9]: *cum sit necesse . . . illum* (Caesarem) *initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum, cum comitiis, amicis eius postulantibus ut e lege ratio habeatur, impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam, quod ratio non habeatur, aut addita causa, si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit dicensve se expulsum ad illum confugerit* etc. 37) App. b. civ. II. 33.

detrimenti caperet[38]. This decree empowered Pompeius, who was then as *imperator* standing before the gates, to draw the sword against Cæsar. The die was cast. Cæsar crossed the Rubicon.

§ 11 However often Pompeius with boastful self-confidence had assured the senate and his party, that with his disposable forces he felt himself strong enough to meet every contingency, he nevertheless quickly perceived the impossibility of holding Italy against the seasoned Gallic veterans of Cæsar. Accordingly he first procured a decree of the senate, transferring the seat of government to Capua; but Cæsar's rapid successes soon necessitated the entire evacuation of Italy. In March Pompeius crossed with his army from Brundisium to Greece, accompanied by the magistrates and leaders of the party of the *optimates*, and also by the greater part of the senate[39]. Thus Cæsar almost without striking a blow found

§ 12 himself master of Italy. Thinking it at the moment unadvisable to pursue the enemy over the sea, he repaired to Rome at the end of March. With him Antonius (who had meanwhile discharged the functions of *legatus* in Cæsar's army[40]) and Cassius Longinus had returned and had resumed their dignity; for the competence of the tribunate did not extend beyond the city itself and a circuit of 1000 paces. Even before Cæsar's arrival the senators who remained in Italy had been summoned from their estates to Rome, because it served his turn to proceed with a

38) Caes. I. 5. 39) § 54. Dio's account (XLI. 7 seq.) of the march out of Rome is worth reading. 40) Caes. b. civ. I. 11 and 18.

constitutional council. The rump senate, thus brought together, was convened by Antonius and Cassius[41]; before it Cæsar justified his past conduct, and probably also demanded authority to require the delivery of the sacred treasure[42]. However that might be, he proceeded, regardless of the prohibition of the tribune L. Metellus, to seize it by force, and then, after taking the military precautions necessary to secure Italy, left Rome before the middle of April, in order to disarm Pompeius' lieutenants in Spain, and thus in the first place to clear the west of his adversaries.

As *praefectus urbi* he left behind M. Lepidus, while § 13

to Antonius he confided the command of the troops in Italy[43], with the title of propraetor[44], charging him at the same time to prevent all egress from the peninsula†. In this position Antonius won the affections of the soldiery[45], but gave great offence by his haughty and arbitrary behaviour and his profligate life, which he exposed unblushingly to the eyes of all Italy, while travelling on circuit through the municipia for military purposes[46]. In consideration however of his important services, Cæsar readily winked at the orgies, by which his progress was disgraced. On his westward march Cæsar had nowhere met with serious opposition except at Massilia, for the investment of which he was compelled to

41) Dio XLI. 15. 42) From an expression of Dio's we may infer that it was Antonius who made the proposal to this effect. For he ends his narrative of the removal of the treasure with the words (XLI. 17): 'moreover, their other measures also were both carried and executed under the name of equality (for they were generally introduced by Antonius) but substantially by arbitrary power.' 43) § 57: *huic conculcandam Italiam tradidit.* 44) Cic. ep. ad Att. X. 8 A. [† ad Att. X. 10.] 45) Plut. Ant. 6. 46) § 57.

leave behind a division of his forces; but the city threw open her gates to the conqueror, when he returned after receiving the submission of Petreius and Afranius in Spain. He there learnt that the people at Rome had appointed him dictator on the motion of the prætor and *praefectus urbi* Lepidus[47]. Though there was no precedent for the creation of a dictator *lege lata*, i.e. by vote of the people, he nevertheless accepted the honour, as indispensable for the speedy execution of many of his designs at Rome.

§ 14 As dictator Cæsar held consular *comitia*, in which he himself was elected with P. Servilius Isauricus; he also alleviated the fate of the exiles, by recalling (at the suggestion, as he says himself, of prætors and tribunes[48]) many of those who had been banished under the *lex Pompeia de ambitu*[49] (of the year 52). This popular measure had no doubt a wider scope, for Cicero distinctly states that Antonius in his tribuneship, not content with pardoning exiles, also reversed other criminal judgements, in which despotic acts not only political motives but also the baser impulses of vulgar cupidity came into play[50]. Cæsar had only enjoyed the dictatorship 11 days, when he voluntarily abdi-

47) Caes. II. 21: *ibi legem de dictatore latam seque dictatorem dictum a M. Lepido praetore cognoscit.* 48) esp. of Antonius. Phil. II. §§ 56, 98; cf. Dio XLIII. 27. 49) Caes. b. c. III. 1: *Itemque praetoribus tribunisque pl. rogationes ad populum ferentibus nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos illis temporibus, quibus in urbe praesidia legionum Pompeius habuerat . . . in integrum restituit* etc. Cic. ad Att. X. 4. § 8: *Nosti hominem* (Curionem): *nihil occultavit, in primis nihil esse certius quam ut omnes, qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent, restituerentur, itaque se in Sicilia eorum opera usurum.* If the *rogationes ad populum* were limited to these exiles, it is easy to understand why C. Antonius, the uncle of Marcus, was not yet restored. 50) § 56.

cated that extraordinary dignity, in order as consular general to open the campaign against his great opponent. A narrative of the well-known events which succeeded until the battle of Pharsalus would here be out of place, but it may be remarked in passing, that Antonius, not only by the boldness and skill[51] with which he brought up the legions which had at the first embarcation been left behind at Brundisium, rescued Cæsar from great straits at Dyrrachium, but also in the decisive battle itself commanded the left wing[52].

After the victory Antonius was sent back with § 15
a detachment of the army to guard Italy from outbreaks and from the superior fleet of the enemy. At Brundisium he met Cicero, who, instead of taking part in the battle of Pharsalus, had remained in the Pompeian camp at Dyrrachium*, and dismissed him unharmed[53], although Cæsar's orders would have warranted the utmost severity[54]. Cæsar himself on the third day after the battle commenced his march toward the east, in pursuit of the fugitive Pompeius. In the passage of the Hellespont, which for want of ships of war he crossed in small craft, his fortune saved him from most imminent jeopardy. For C. Cassius, afterwards one of his murderers, met him with numerous triremes; but instead of hazarding an attack, delivered

51) Caes. b. civ. III. 26, Dio XLI. 48. 52) hence § 71: *antesignanus.* [* Owing to sickness. Plut. Cic. 39.] 53) §§ 5, 59 seq. 54) ad Att. XI. 7. § 2: *Quamquam quid ego de lictoribus, qui paene ex Italia decedere sim iussus? Nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Caesaris ad se litterarum, in quibus erat se audisse Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romae ut essent palam: id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eo fierent, prohiberique omnes Italia nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset: deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. Itaque Antonius pete-*

up his fleet in a sudden panic, entreating for mercy[55]. In the offing before Alexandrea Cæsar received intelligence of the tragical end of Pompeius. His interference in the disputed succession to the throne of Egypt and his support of queen Cleopatra next involved him in the formidable Alexandrian war, which lasted nine months. After its settlement he turned his arms against king Pharnaces of Pontus, whose conquests in Asia Minor he checked by a speedy victory. While still in Alexandrea, he was appointed at Rome dictator for a year[56] (late in 48), and chose Antonius his *magister equitum*, though Antonius had not yet filled the office of prætor[57].

§ 16 From the day when Antonius first led his legions from Brundisium to Rome, the Italian towns had groaned under the pressure of military force; but at that time the billeting of troops on the townspeople[58], however oppressive, might still be excused on the plea of necessity. But when in the beginning of 47 he seized the reins of government as *magister equitum*, his despotism pressed still more heavily upon Rome

bat a me per litteras ut sibi ignoscerem: facere se non posse quin iis litteris pareret. Tum ad eum misi L. Lamiam, qui demonstraret illum Dolabellae dixisse, ut ad me scriberet ut in Italiam quam primum venirem; eius me litteris venisse. Tum ille edixit ita ut me exciperet et Laelium nominatim: quod sane nollem; poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi. 55) Suet. Caes. 63, Dio XLII. 6, App. b. c. II. 88. The story of Cæsar's encounter with Cassius on the coast of Cilicia, mentioned only by Cicero (Phil. II. § 26), either arose from a confusion with the meeting in the Hellespont, or is a false report, which Cicero heard during his long sojourn at Brundisium. The occurrence must have happened, when Cæsar crossed over from Egypt to Syria to wage war against Pharnaces. 56) The regular term of an extraordinary dictatorship was 6 months. 57) Dio XLII. 20, 21, Plut. Ant. 8. Cicero's statement (Phil. II. § 62) is distorted. 58) § 62: *in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio.*

itself. "Pitiable," says Dio[59], "was the unwonted aspect of the city on the first of January and long after. No consul or prætor was to be seen[60]. Antonius did indeed by convening the senate still keep up a semblance of the commonwealth; he also contented himself with the *praetexta* and with the legal number of six lictors; but the sword which he always wore at his girdle, the throng of soldiers who surrounded him, above all, the actions which he performed or allowed to pass unchallenged in others, only too plainly testified the existence of a despotism. For robberies[61], rapes, and murders were the order of the day. And the actual condition of Rome led men to apprehend still worse calamities from Cæsar's arrival. 'What,' they asked, 'was to be expected from the dictator, if his representative could venture on acts of such brutal violence?'" The troubles were still further aggravated by the quarrels of the tribunes P. Dolabella and L. Trebellius, and by Dolabella's agitation in favour of a cancelling of debts[62]. The steps taken by Antonius towards abating the confusion, were inadequate to restore lasting order and tranquillity, and the conflicting parties stood confronting one another like two hostile armies, when Cæsar at the news of the alarming ferment in Rome hastened back from Asia in September 47. His coming brought back quiet, and § 17

59) XLII. 27. 60) During a dictatorship the powers of other magistrates, except the tribunes, were in abeyance. [Pl. Ant. 8.] 61) Cf. §§ 41, 62; for the illegal acquisition of legacies. 62) See the detailed description of Dio XLII. 29—33. Livii perioch. CXIII.: *Cum seditiones Romae a P. Dolabella tr. pl. legem ferente de novis tabulis excitatae essent et ex ea causa plebs tumultuaretur, inductis a M. Antonio magistro equitum in urbem militibus octingenti e plebe caesi sunt.*

the rioters feared the severest punishments. But Cæsar once again pursued his wonted course. Satisfied with the re-establishment of order, he not only overlooked the offence, but raised many of the offenders to honour, as for instance Dolabella himself, to whom as one of the earliest renegades of the Pompeian party he thought himself specially beholden[63]. At this juncture the confiscated estate of Pompeius was also put up to sale by Cæsar's order, a proceeding, which, if we may credit Cicero, caused great irritation. The chief purchaser[64] was Antonius, who however neglected to pay the purchase-money, the more as a great part of his acquisition was in a short time wasted in rioting
§18 and intemperance. Before the year had run out, Cæsar, after having been again invested with the dictatorship and having named M. Lepidus as his *magister equitum*[65], left the city to renew the struggle with the Pompeians in Africa, who had raised very imposing forces while he had been engaged in Egypt and Asia. Fortune again stood his friend; after the battle of Thapsus [6 Apr. A.U. 708] he celebrated at Rome in the year 46 his magnificent fourfold triumph over Gaul, Egypt, and the kings Pharnaces of Pontus and Juba of Numidia[66]. The hard

63) Dio XLII. 33 and 50. Plut. Ant. 10 assigns another motive: 'These things (the insolences of Antonius and his crew) appear both to have inflamed the sedition and to have let the soldiery loose for acts of violence and rapacity. Hence too Cæsar on his return both forgave Dolabella, and when elected consul (ὕπατος, rather δικτάτωρ) for the third time, chose not Antonius, but Lepidus as partner of his power' (*magister equitum*). 64) not *unus*, as Cic. § 64 says; who himself (Phil. XIII. § 11) supplies a correction of his own exaggeration. Dolabella had also a share, namely the Albanum and Formianum. 65) See n. 63. 66) Dio XLIII. 19, App. b. c. II. 101 seq.

struggle in Africa was not the last which he had to maintain for the supremacy, which was to be of such short duration; the most stubborn of all awaited him in Spain against the sons of Cn. Pompeius. It is well known that in the battle of Munda (17 March, 45) a single day had well nigh destroyed the fruits of years of toils and victories. Cæsar's dearly-bought success gave the last blow to the freedom of Rome.

Neither in Africa[67] nor in Spain did Antonius §19
fight at Cæsar's side. A coolness had sprung up between them[68], because Cæsar demanded the payment of the sum, which Antonius had bid for the estate of Pompeius[69]. Antonius was nettled by this demand, thinking that he had deserved so well of Cæsar, that he might securely reckon on a greater recompense[70]. But the dictator insisted, and even threatened to put in a military execution[71], which determined Antonius to have an auction of goods. But here too he was foiled; for when the heirs of the knight L. Rubrius, whose inheritance Antonius had embezzled, put in a claim as owners of the goods

67 § 71. Plut. Ant. 10: 'When the house of Pompeius was put up for sale, Antonius became the purchaser; but took in great dudgeon the demand of payment. He himself declares that his reason for bearing no part in Cæsar's African campaign was, that his former successes had been unrequited.' 68) As Plut. (ibid.) hints, Antonius' dissolute life also had somewhat estranged him from Cæsar: 'Cæsar however by shewing himself not blind to his failings, seems to have weaned Antonius in great measure from his folly and profligacy.' 69) Dio XLII. 50: 'Cæsar evidently declared his design of appropriating the property of others to his own use by absolute power; whereby he incurred the displeasure even of his own associates; for after they had bought up many confiscated estates, sometimes for more than the value, in the hope of obtaining them gratis, they were constrained to make payment in full.' Cf. Dio XLII. 49. § 3. 70) § 72. 71) § 73.

offered for sale, the bidding was stopped by Cæsar's order[72]. Antonius' irritation was so great, that he was even charged with hiring an assassin to despatch Cæsar, which seems however to be only a malicious calumny, although Cicero assures us[73], that Cæsar openly complained of the matter in the senate. Ultimately Cæsar was so far appeased, that before his journey to Spain he consented to a further postpone-
§20 ment of the day of payment[74]. As has been already remarked, Antonius held aloof from this campaign also. He did indeed make as though he purposed to follow Cæsar; but advanced only to Narbo in Gaul[75], giving out that his further progress was hindered by the insecurity of the roads. At Narbo he fell in with the Cæsarian C. Trebonius, who is said to have made to him disclosures of a plot against the dictator, which Antonius neither himself gave in to, nor yet betrayed[76]. His return to Rome (he is said to have come in by stealth under cover of night, to the surprise even of his devoted Fulvia) was altogether unlooked for; it spread great uneasiness throughout the city, being regarded as a confirmation of the alarming reports which were then rife respecting Cæsar's designs[77]. Accordingly Antonius found it necessary for

72) See however § 74 n. 73) § 74. 74) § 74: *paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus.* 75) §§ 34, 75. 76) § 34. Plut. Ant. 13: 'When the others (the confederates of Brutus and Cassius) were for inviting his (Ant.) co-operation, Trebonius opposed it; for he said that when they went to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, he himself travelled with Antonius and shared his tent; on which he softly and warily sounded his inclination, when the other understood him indeed, but rejected the proposal, without however betraying it to Cæsar.' 77) § 77 ad Att. XII. 19. § 2. It was feared that he was commissioned to prepare the way for acts of terrorism, such as proscriptions, which Cæsar would carry through on his arrival. Plutarch's

the reassurance of the people to declare in an assembly that he had returned on account of personal affairs, *i. e.* according to Cicero's interpretation[78], to prevent the distress of his goods by the representative of the *praetor urbanus*[79]. When Cæsar drew near, Antonius again left the city to meet him, on which occasion an entire reconciliation ensued[80], the price of which on Cæsar's part was undoubtedly the remission of the outstanding debt.

The greater the apprehensions with which many §21
had looked forward to the conqueror's coming, the more lavishly were the most extravagant honours bestowed upon him, either immediately, or in the course of the following months. It is enough here to mention the most prominent. Beside the celebration of a stately triumph, a thanksgiving of 50 days was decreed in honour of his last victory. He was allowed to wear on all festivals the triumphal robe, and to appear everywhere and at all times with a laurel crown[81]. He received the honourable appellations of 'deliverer' (which was also recorded in the *fasti*), and 'father of his country,' together with the right of employing the title 'imperator' as a standing *praeno-*

version (Ant. 10) is less probable: 'When many went out to welcome Cæsar after his Spanish victory, Antonius went with the rest; but suddenly on a rumour that Cæsar was dead and the enemy in full march upon Rome, he returned to the city.' 78) § 78. 79) § 78 n. 80) § 78 seq. 81) § 85: *coronatus.* Dio XLIII. 43. Suet. Caes. 45: *Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam exprobraverunt, calvitii vero deformitatem iniquissime ferret, saepe obtrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus. Ideoque et deficientem capillum revocare a vertice adsueverat, et ex omnibus decretis sibi a senatu populoque honoribus non aliud aut recepit aut usurpavit libentius quam ius laureae coronae perpetuo gestandae.*

men, to be inherited by his posterity[82]. Nay more, by a later grant he obtained the ancient emblems of royalty, the gilded chair of state and purple *toga*[83]. He was appointed consul for 10 years, dictator and *praefectus morum* for life[84]. His person was declared inviolable, and magistrates on assuming office were required to swear that they would affirm the projects (*acta*) of Cæsar. The month Quintilis, in which he was born, received the name Iulius on the proposal of An-
§ 22 tonius. It was further resolved that his ivory statue should be carried in the Circensian games,—drawn, as was afterwards added, in a state-carriage (*tensa*) like the images of the gods[85],—that his birthday should be kept as an annual feast with sacrifices, and solemn vows be yearly offered for his wellbeing; moreover a special festival was to be observed every 5th year (*ludi quinquennales*) as in honour of a demigod (ἥρως)[86]. To the two colleges of Luperci (priests of Lupercus)[87], Fabiani and Quinctiliani, which celebrated the Lupercalia, a third was added and named the Julian[88]. Finally they did not stick to style him Iuppiter Iulius, and to ordain the erection of a temple to him and his Clementia, nominating Antonius beforehand as its special priest (*flamen*)[89]. The official residence also, which he occupied as *pontifex maximus*, should betoken the god upon earth; it was embellished with a

82) Dio XLIII. 44. 83) § 85, Dio XLIV. 6. 84) ib. XLIV. 5. 85) ib. XLIII. 45 and XLIV. 6. 86) Dio XLIV. 6. 87) To Lupercus, an old Italian divinity identified with the Lycæan Pan, was ascribed the attribute of shielding man and beast from harm, and of causing fecundity. 88) *ἑταιρία Ἰουλία* (Dio XLIV. 6); Antonius became president of the college (*ἡγεμὼν τῶν συνιερέων*). See Dio XLVI. 5 and XLV. 30; cf. Phil. II. § 85. 89 Dio XLIV. 6, App. II. 106; hence he also received a *pulvinar*, Phil. II. § 110 seq.

fastigium[90], i. e. a triangular gable (frontal), which in Rome was the appropriate decoration of the temples.

Thus his countrymen worshipped him as a god § 23
rather than a man, and his authority was that of an absolute king rather than of the chief officer in a commonwealth; the name alone was still wanting, for the formal perfection of the monarchy which already existed in fact. But this end, after which the heart of the man who felt himself born to empire, yearned with such impatient longings, could not be compassed by a mere wish. The Romans had borne so much in silence,—indeed the remembrance of the sanguinary times of a Marius and a Sulla might well teach them resignation,—that Cæsar's flatterers deemed they might safely risk the last step, and Antonius, never backward in any slavish office, gladly made proffer of his services for the purpose. But before we come to narrate his rash venture, it is necessary shortly to touch on the previous occurrences of the year 44.

As dictator[91] Cæsar had again designated Lepidus § 24
his *magister equitum* for the year, while he himself with M. Antonius assumed the consulship[92]. As however P. Dolabella[93] also could claim that dignity by virtue of a previous promise[94], Cæsar on the 1st of January declared in the senate, that Dolabella should hold the consulship during his own campaign against

90) § 110. 91) This was his fifth dictatorship. Dio XLIII. 49; cf. Drumann III. 646. n. 60. 92) § 79: *iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso.* 93) against the *lex Villia annalis*, as (according to App. II. 129) he was only 25 years old. Cic. ad fam. IX. 14, § 2, calls him *iuvenem consulem.* [Cf. App. III. 88.] 94) § 79.

the Parthians, and enter upon office before he himself departed from Rome[95]. Upon this Antonius, who in Cæsar's absence could brook no division of power, least of all with his old opponent, avowed his determination of interrupting the election in his capacity of augur by the announcement of unlucky auspices. A violent altercation succeeded, ending in the bitterest personalities between him and Dolabella[96]. On the day of the *comitia* (the precise date cannot be fixed) Antonius actually carried out his threat. The voting had already begun, when he interrupted the proceedings[97] with the exclamation '*alio die*[98].' The election appears indeed to have been continued and brought to a conclusion, but its validity was questioned and stood over for the determination of the
§25 senate on the fatal 15th of March[99]. As Cæsar disposed of the consulship of the year 44 according to his own good pleasure, so by the projected campaign against the Parthians,—a truly national enterprise, on which public opinion expressed itself very favourably[100],—he gained a still more extensive authority. For by a law introduced by the tribune L. Antonius[101], he was empowered before marching against the Parthians, to distribute offices and provinces prospectively. In fact the consuls tribunes[102] and governors of pro-

95) § 80. 96) §§ 79 seq. and 99, [Plut. Ant. 11.] 97) §§ 82—84. 98) § 81 n. 99) § 88. 100) Dio XLIII. 51. 101) Phil. VII. § 16: *est enim* (L. Antonius) *patronus* XXXV *tribuum, quarum sua lege, qua cum C. Caesare magistratus partitus est, suffragium sustulit* etc. 102) coss. for B.C. 43 C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius, for 42 D. Brutus and L. Munatius Plancus. Cic. ep. ad Att. XIV. 6, § 2: *Quid enim miserius quam ea nos tueri, propter quae illum oderamus? etiamne consules et tribunos pl. in biennium quos ille voluit?* Cf. Dio XLIII. 51.

vinces were already nominated for the two following years. Thus the people had for the nonce divested itself of its highest prerogative, the choice of officers, which it must be confessed had declined almost to a shadow. Still public opinion, in spite of all the influences which were brought to bear upon it[103], was very loath to recognise by name the uncontrolled power, which Cæsar in fact exercised. On the 15th §26
of February, during the solemnity of the Lupercalia, a religious festival of atonement and purification, the consul Antonius essayed a bolder step[104]. Cæsar had seated himself in the Rostra on his golden chair of state, arrayed in purple *toga* and laurel crown, to watch the wanton progress of the Luperci, who used to run through the city with no other clothing than an apron of skin[105]. All on a sudden Antonius leapt up to the Rostra from the frolicsome ring of Luperci, reaching out to Cæsar a laurel crown, in which was entwined a diadem. Cæsar thrust back the diadem; for only faint notes of applause, drowned by groans, were heard from the surrounding multitude. Antonius renewed the attempt, and would have pressed the diadem on Cæsar's brow. Again Cæsar rejected it, and was greeted on all sides by the wondering crowd with acclamations and clapping of hands[106]. Cæsar closed the scene with the words 'Juppiter alone is king,' and directed the diadem to be carried to the

103) Dio XLIV. 9 seq. App. II. 108. 104) § 84 seq. 105) hence *nudus* (§§ 86 and 111). Cf. Schwenck's *Mythologie der Römer*, p. 141. 106) Plut. Ant. 12: 'On Cæsar's refusal the assembled people shouted and clapped their hands for joy. Strange that they who could endure to be treated virtually

Capitol[107]. Nevertheless he permitted an entry in the *fasti* to the effect, that the consul M. Antonius had by order of the people offered the royal diadem to C.
§27 Cæsar, dictator for life, who had declined it. After this miscarriage, recourse was had to religion, in order to effect that for which other means had proved unavailing. A prophecy was brought to light from the Sibylline books, which announced that the Parthians could not be vanquished except by a king of Rome[108]. And as the saying was industriously noised abroad, voices were heard to cry, 'Cæsar must indeed still be styled dictator and imperator of the Romans, but as against foreign and conquered nations must be exalted to the majesty of the kingly name[109].' Cæsar however, as Appian relates, deprecated this proposal also, and resolved to open his campaign without delay, that he might no longer remain in the city as the common
§28 mark of envy. His enemies were thus driven to the speedier execution of the plot which had long been hatching against his life, and of which M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the heart and soul. The day appointed was the Ides of March, when the senators were to meet in the *curia* of Pompeius, in order to hear from Cæsar his final arrangements before setting out for the east. Without waiting to see whether, as was reported, an offer of the royal dignity would really

as subjects should yet shrink from the name of king as destructive to freedom!' 107) So Dio XLIV. 15 and Nicolaos Damascenus in the vita Caes. 21 (Fragm. hist. Graec. ed. Müller III. 427 seq.) whose relation is the fullest, but tricked up with many embellishments. In Livy we read (periocha l. CXVI.): *a M. Antonio consule collega suo inter Lupercos currente diadema capiti suo impositum in sella reposuit.* 108) Dio XLIV. 15, Cic. de divin. II. § 110, Suet. Caes. 79. 109) App. II. 110.

be made, they fell upon the unsuspecting imperator, and laid him low with their daggers at the foot of Pompeius' statue, pierced with twenty-three stabs. The tragic deed was done, but the conspirators in the tumult of their blind fanaticism had neither made provision for seizing the reins of government, nor asked themselves whether the hero's treacherous murder would as a necessary consequence involve the recovery of liberty[110]. It was impossible to address the §29
assembled senators, as overwhelmed with consternation they had burst wildly out of the *curia*. Accordingly the conspirators, brandishing their reeking daggers in their hands, hurried to the forum, crying aloud* that the king and tyrant was slain, and calling on the people to restore the republic. But when here too they found nothing but panic terror[111] or apathy, they became perplexed and confounded. The veterans also inspired them with alarm, who happened at the moment to be congregated in the city in great numbers, some lately disbanded and awaiting the assignment of lands, while others had come up from the country to form a guard of honour to Cæsar on his outward march[112]. In this embarrassment the conspirators withdrew to the Capitol, avowedly to offer thanks to the gods, in fact from fear for their lives[113]. They had as a guard the gladiators of Decimus Brutus[114], who

110) Cic. ad Att. XIV. 4. § 2: *Nostri autem heroes, quod per ipsos confici potuit, gloriosissime et magnificentissime confecerunt. Reliquae res opes et copias desiderant, quas nullas habemus.* ib. 21. § 3: *acta illa res est animo virili, consilio puerili;* and so too ibid. XV. 4. § 2. [* calling upon Cicero by name. Dio XLIV. 20 ad fin.] 111) See the vivid sketch of Dio XLIV. 20 and Nicol. Dam. l. c. 25. 112) App. II. 119. 113) Dio XLIV. 21, App. III. 15. 114) Dio XLIV. 16, App. II. 118, Nicol. Dam. 26.

were to have been exhibited on the same day in the theatre of Pompeius, and other hired ruffians. In the evening several men of eminence, strangers to the plot, appeared on the Capitol[115], and amongst them Cicero[116], whom the conspirators requested to negotiate with Antonius for the re-establishment of the old constitution. Cicero however declined to treat with a
§30 man whose designs he distrusted. Antonius had not been present at the scene of terror. For as it was feared that his staunch resolution might frustrate the attempt[117], the conspirators had charged one of their accomplices, C. Trebonius, to detain him in conversation without the walls of the *curia*[118]. Some of them had proposed that he also, as Cæsar's most powerful friend and the special favourite of the soldiery, should be put to death[119] together with Lepidus[120], but Brutus spurned the suggestion, lest the glory of their undertaking should be sullied by the imputation of interested motives[121]. When the bloody deed was

115) Dio XLIV. 21. 116) Phil. II. § 89: *neque te illo die neque postero vidi.* 117) The motive assigned by Cic. (Phil. II. § 34) in order to discredit Antonius in the eyes of the Cæsarian party, is false: see Plut. Ant. 13: 'fearing the strength of Antonius and the dignity of his office, they told off certain of the conspirators, who should engage him in earnest conversation and so keep him out of doors, when Cæsar should enter the senate and the time for action should come.' 118) Cic. ad Trebonium (ep. ad fam. X. 28. § 1): *Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me idibus Martiis invitasses: reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum iis tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rem publicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querellam. Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis, interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor* etc. [So Dio XLIV. 19. Plut. Caes. 66, says he was called aside by D. Brutus.] 119) App. III. 33. 120) So Dio XLIV. 19; App. II. 114 names only Antonius. 121) Dio l. c. Plut. Ant. 13 says: 'But Brutus held them back, urging that an action undertaken in behalf of laws and rights ought to

accomplished, Antonius, believing himself as Cæsar's friend most exposed to danger, cast away his consular robe and remained for a time in concealment[122]. Ignorant alike of the designs of the conspirators and of the number of their adherents[123], he let slip the opportunity for a sudden assault upon the Capitol, which amid the general trepidation could scarcely have failed of success. In the night Lepidus brought troops into the city, and made a feint of avenging the dictator's murder; but after a conference with Antonius determined, especially as the disposition of the senate was not yet declared, to watch the course of events[124].

On the following day (March 16) Dolabella ap- § 31
peared with the insignia of the consulship. He and others had in readiness a mercenary throng[125], under whose escort Brutus and Cassius ventured to descend from the Capitol and harangue the assembly. The result however did not answer to their hopes, so that they again retreated to their refuge, and found it expedient to make advances to Antonius, through the good offices of friendly senators[126]. Antonius in his message reminded them of the oath which they had all sworn to Cæsar, that they would defend his life and avenge every attempt on his person[127], but finally

be unalloyed and clear from injustice.' [Cf. Plut. Brut. 18 and 20]. Appian (II. 114) has a third version: 'Brutus said, that if they killed Cæsar alone, they would win the reputation of liberators of their country from tyranny, whereas, if they proscribed his friends also, they would be condemned as mere partisans of Pompeius, impelled by private enmity.' 122) Phil. II. § 88, Dio XLIV. 22. Plut. Ant. 14: 'he exchanged his dress for that of a servant and hid himself.' 123) App. III. 34. 124) Dio XLIV. 34, App. II. 118. 125) App. II. 121 seq. 126) § 89: *cum ceteri consulares irent redirent* etc. App. II. 123. 127) Suet. 84.

expressed his readiness to leave everything to the disposal of the senate[128]. In the following very bustling night Cæsar's private treasure and his memoranda were conveyed to the dwelling of Antonius, whether because Cæsar's widow Calpurnia thought that they would there be more secure, or because Antonius had of his own authority given orders to that effect[129]. An edict of Antonius also appeared, summoning the senate to meet on the next morning (March 17) in the temple of Tellus; which was selected for the place of meeting as adjoining the house of Antonius[130]. All approaches to the temple were, as Cicero assures us[131],
§ 32 beset with troops. After a long debate, in which Antonius displayed extraordinary adroitness[132], the pacific resolution was at last adopted, that no judicial inquiry should be instituted into the murder of Cæsar, but at the same time everything which he had done and appointed (*acta Caesaris*), should, on grounds of public advantage[133], remain in force. An additional proviso expressly guaranteed to the veterans the

128) App. II. 124. According to Nic. Dam. l. c. 27 Antonius adopted this resolution by the advice of A. Hirtius, whereas Lepidus insisted on avenging the murder by force of arms. 129) App. II. 125, III. 17. According to Plutarch this did not take place until after the funeral (Ant. 15): 'On this account Brutus and his immediate adherents withdrew from the city; upon which Cæsar's friends gathered about Antonius, and Calpurnia Cæsar's wife shewed her confidence by depositing with him the bulk of the treasure from her house, to the amount of 4000 talents in all.' 130) App. II. 126. 131) § 89. 132) App. II. 127—135. Cicero also advocated an amnesty, Phil. I. § 1; his speech (now incorporated in his works, ed. Klotz) is preserved by Dio XLIV. 23—33, who has probably compiled it from that which Cicero delivered before the people on the same day. [On the meeting in the temple of Tellus cf. Plut. Caes. 67 ad fin., Ant. 14, Brut. 19, Dio XLIV. 22.] 133) on this addition cf. App. III. 22.

grants of land which had been made or promised to them. Antonius in this session also tacitly recognised Dolabella as consul, as he allowed him to occupy the curule chair without protest[134]. At the news of these occurrences Brutus and Cassius invited the people to an assembly on the Capitol, where Brutus spoke amidst great applause, and in the name of his party too allayed the apprehensions of the veterans respecting their
grants of land[135]. The consuls also summoned the § 33
people to a contio, in which the resolutions of the senate were read, and Cicero in a long oration extolled the amnesty. Carried away by the orator's enthusiasm, the people called on the conspirators to come down from their sanctuary. Still they did not venture to appear without security, on which the sons of Antonius[136] and Lepidus[137] were sent up to them as hostages. When at last they came in sight, they were welcomed with cheers and clapping of hands; when the consuls would have spoken, the multitude refused to listen, calling on them to shake hands and seal the work of reconciliation[138]. The consuls complied, but in no cheerful mood: Antonius was greatly disturbed by the sudden veering of popular favour.

134) I. § 31, II. § 84, Dio XLIV. 53. 135) App. II. 137—142, Dio XLIV. 34. Brutus afterwards elaborated the speech (*orationem habitam in contione Capitolina*), and sent it to Cicero for his corrections, who thus criticises it (ep. ad Att. XV. 1 B): *est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra: ego tamen, si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius.* 136) Ant. gave his son by Fulvia. Phil. I. § 2. [§ 31: *tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit.*] II. § 90. Vell. II. 58. § 3: *velut pacis auctor liberos suos obsides in Capitolium misit fidemque descendendi tuto interfectoribus Caesaris dedit.* 137) Livii periochae lib. CXVI. Dio XLIV. 34. 138) App. II. 142.

On the following day (18 Mar.) the deliverers[139]—for by this name or that of tyrant-killers they thenceforth went amongst the republican party—re-appeared in the senate, where over and above the general sanction of of all *acta Caesaris* which had been passed the day before, Cæsar's disposal of the provinces was separately approved.

§ 34 The work of pacification thus begun was destined to be rudely shaken by an occurrence, the first occasion of which was given in the session of 17 March. At the close of the discussion some of the senators had addressed themselves to Cæsar's father-in-law, L. Piso, entreating him, by way of precaution against further commotions, to take care that Cæsar's body should be privately buried, and his will be kept secret. Piso resolutely refused, in spite of all their threats, and called upon the consuls once more to take the opinions of the senators who still remained; whereupon the senate ordered not only that the will should be opened, but also that the body should be interred at the public cost (*funus publicum*)[140]. In the will C. Octavius, grandson of Cæsar's younger sister Julia, appeared as principal heir and adopted son; while to the people were bequeathed gardens beyond the Tiber, and to each citizen 300 sesterces[141]. This proof of affection powerfully impressed the multitude, which was no less exasperated by the discovery that amongst the 'second heirs†' (i. e. those who were to succeed the principal heirs, in the event of their death), together with M. Antonius and others, one of the conspirators, Decimus Brutus, was named. Still more violent was the agitation roused by the funeral solemnity. As was customary in the case of § 35
persons of the highest rank, the body was to be buried in the field of Mars, the *laudatio funebris* to be pronounced as usual in the forum. When the procession came there to a stand, Antonius by a very dexterous speech[142], and by tricks of stage-effect, lashed his hearers into the wildest frenzy, which reached its highest pitch when he opened out the purple toga drenched with blood, and exposed to view the mangled corpse[143]. In a transport of rage‡ they threw themselves upon the body; some were for carrying it to the scene of the crime, the *curia* of Pompeius; others for dragging it up to the Capitol and burning it there. Hardly diverted from this purpose, they raise a pyre of benches and other furniture, and heap on the burning pile crowns, rich dresses, and valuables of every kind[144]. In the tumult the § 36

139) §§ 31, 89, 114, Dio XLIV. 1, 35. On the other hand the opposite party called them *parricidae* (Phil. II. § 31, ad fam. XII. 3. § 1, and cf. the commentators on Tac. ann. IV. 34), a name which Cæsar's flatterers had already employed of the Pompeians, who had fought against him. Cf. Cic. p. Ligar. § 18. Val. Max. pays court to Tiberius by this means.

140) App. II. 135 seq.

141) Dio XLIV. 35, App. II. 143.

[† cf. App. l. c.]

142) in Dio XLIV. 36—49, App. II. 144 seq.

143) § 90 seq. Plut. Ant. 14, [Plut. Cic. 42.] [‡ Dio XLIV. 50.]

144) App. II. 148, [Dio XLIV. 51.] Suet. Caes. 84: *Quem cum pars in Capitolini Iovis cella cremare, pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt, confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quidquid praeterea ad manum aderat, congessit; deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices vestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae, et veteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant, matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua, quae gerebant, et liberorum bullas atque praetextas.*

house of a senator, L. Bellienus[145], was burnt to the ground, and nothing but the interference of the soldiery prevented further devastation. From the Forum the infuriated crowd hurried with firebrands to the houses of the leading conspirators[146]. On the way they fell in with the tribune, Helvius Cinna, and, confounding him with his namesake, the prætor Cinna, who was one of the conspirators, tore him limb from limb like so many wild beasts[147]. The attempt upon the houses failed; for preparations had been promptly made for a stout resistance, and the neighbours also supplicated for indulgence; whereupon the assailants at last with uproarious threatenings retired[148]. During this stormy scene the conspirators had either hidden themselves in safe retreats, or fled from the city.

§ 37 The senate gravely rebuked Antonius for his indiscreet oration[149], whereby, among other ill effects, the late amnesty had become an empty promise[150]. Antonius suffered himself to be corrected, and appeased

145) § 91. Drumann I. 104 conjectures that the fire was not accidental, because Bellienus was certainly (?) the freedman who in the civil war had made himself odious as a Pompeian; cf. ep. ad fam. VIII. 15. § 2. 146) Suet. Caes. 85 mentions only the houses of Brutus and Cassius; Cic. Phil. II. § 91 exaggerates when he says, *in nostras domos;* yet cf. ep. ad Att. XIV. 10. § 1: *At ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter, servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi.* 147) According to Suetonius, this occurred after the attack upon the houses had been repulsed. 148) App. II. 147. 149) Dio XLIV. 35: 'a very fine and admirable speech, but not expedient in that posture of affairs.' 150) App. III. 2. He makes Antonius himself say (III. 35): 'I overthrew the amnesty, not by decrees of the people or senate (for that was not in my power), but by working covertly upon the people; that is, by bringing Cæsar's body, as if for burial, to the forum, and laying bare his wounds, displaying their number and the bloody stains and the stabs in his clothes; passionately in-

the senate by salutary measures[151]. By his recommendation the proposal of Servius Sulpicius, that from the Ides of March no ordinance or pardon of Cæsar's should be published, was passed as a decree of the senate[152]. He himself advocated the perpetual abolition of the dictatorship, which was so universally approved, as to be accepted without discussion[153]. He also obviated further outbreaks of popular violence by his vigorous interposition against the demagogue Amatius[154]. This man, an oculist by profes- § 38
sion[155], had exchanged his Greek name Herophilus for the Roman name Amatius, and by giving himself out as the grandson of C. Marius had won such favour with the people, that many municipal and colonial towns and most of the guilds (*collegia*) named him as their patron. Banished from Italy by Cæsar on account of his dangerous agitation[156], he had stolen again into Rome, and now took advantage of his pretended relationship to the deceased dictator, in order to counterfeit the very fanaticism of mourning. He erected upon the *bustum* (i. e. place where the corpse had been burnt) an altar, on which to sacrifice to Cæsar as to a god, surrounded himself with a gang of desperadoes, and let them loose upon Cæsar's enemies and upon all aristocrats in general[157]. Upon this

sisting the while on his virtue and love for the commons, lamenting him as slain, and invoking him as a god. For these my words and deeds stung the people to the quick, and lit the fire after the amnesty and turned the flames upon the houses of our adversaries, and drove the men themselves from the city.' 151) § 91. 152) Phil. I. § 3. 153) Phil. I. §§ 3, 32, II. §§ 91, 115. 154) App. III. 2 seq., Val. Max. IX. 15. § 1, Liv. per. CXVI. 155) *ocularius medicus* in Paris' epitome of Val. Max.; the common reading is *equarius med.* 156) Val. Max. l. c. 157) ibid. *consilium interficiendi senatus sustinuit.*

Antonius, to prevent greater mischief, gave orders that the brigand should be seized, and executed with-
§ 39 out trial. In this energetic proceeding Antonius was no doubt in earnest, since he too must have feared the spread of fanaticism in the mob, but the guise of moderation, which he had hitherto worn, was a mere mask. When as consul he had accepted or procured from the senate a commission to test Cæsar's ordinances, and to execute everything according to Cæsar's will[158], he soon began in the most barefaced manner to drive trade with Cæsar's papers[159], of which he had made himself master immediately after the Ides of March, unscrupulously converting them into instruments of his own ambition and avarice[160]. He issued ordinances of every kind, as if in compliance with the *acta Caesaris*, recalled exiles in troops from banishment[161], bestowed honours, exemptions from imposts, and the franchise not only on individuals, but on whole districts and provinces, and
§ 40 all to fill his own purse[162]. To arm the acts of his own arbitrary will with a sanction as of Cæsar's autograph, he directed Cæsar's secretary, Faberius, to garble authentic documents and to forge new ones[163]. Still even the profusion of wealth, which flowed in upon the conscientious friend of the murdered dictator in return for countless acts of grace

158) Dio XLIV. 53. 159) *commentarii, chirographa, libelli*. Phil. I. § 16, II. § 97. [I. § 2.] 160) I. § 16 seq., II. §§ 6, 35, 92 seq., esp. 97, Dio XLIV. 53. 161) I. § 24, II. § 98. 162) Dio XLIV. 53: 'By this means he not only seized great treasure on the spot, but gathered large sums from individuals, from communities and from kings, selling to some land, to others liberty, to others the freedom of the city, to others immunity from taxes.' 163) ad Att. XIV. 18. § 1, App. III. 5.

and favour, could not glut his rapacity; Cæsar's papers must throw open the doors of the temple of Ops, and place at the disposal of Antonius and his creatures the public treasure there deposited, to the amount of 700,000,000 sesterces[164].

It may readily be conceived that these enormous § 41
resources must have put at the command of Antonius a power, with which the constitutional authorities were unable to cope. A new opportunity for bestowing favours on his intimates, and of engaging the veterans still more decidedly in his party, was procured by an agrarian law, which his brother Lucius, the tribune, introduced and carried without regard to the legal forms[165]. In order to assign for distribution the fertile Leontine domain in Sicily, lands in Campania[166] and even the Pontine marshes[167], as though they had been already drained and reclaimed, seven commissioners[168] were nominated, amongst whom was the consul Antonius[169]. With this commission is connected the journey which he undertook through Italy in the latter half of April and the beginning of May. Its design was not merely to settle the veterans on the

164) ad Att. XIV. 14. § 5: *Rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri, quas nos quoque tum videbamus.* ad fam. XII. 2. § 2: *alter item adfinis novis commentariis Caesaris delenitus est.* Phil. I. § 17, II. §§ 35, 93, and esp. Phil. V. § 11 (cited on § 35). From the tenor of these passages it is evident that the treasure was drained by driblets. Otherwise Vell. II. 66. § 4 (*sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesare ad aedem Opis, occupatum ab Antonio*) might lead us to believe, that Ant. seized it at one stroke. 165) Phil. V. § 7 seq. 166) Phil. II. §§ 43, 100—102. 167) Dio XLV. 9, Phil. V. § 7 seq. 168) *septemviratus*. Phil. II. § 99. 169) beside M. Ant. his brother Lucius, Dolabella, Nucula and Lento (Phil. XI. § 13); the two others are unknown. The uncle of M. Antonius was also appointed, but was forced to give way to a minion of the consul's (Phil. II. § 99).

lands assigned to them and to bind them to aid all his plans[170], but he also enlisted from among them a prætorian cohort, which he is said gradually to have raised to the number of 6,000[171]. We may be excused a description of the journey, as all that we know of it rests on the authority of this speech[172] and we seek in vain even in Cicero's letters for further particulars.

§ 42 During Antonius' absence from Rome there appeared on the scene the man, who was destined to inherit not merely the name, but the power of Cæsar. The first interview of Antonius and C. Octavianus, whom Cicero does not yet mention in the second Philippic, was none of the friendliest. Antonius refused to deliver to him Cæsar's remaining estate, or to give an account of the purposes to which his inheritance had been applied. Hereupon Octavianus offered Cæsar's lands for sale, and also devoted his own patrimony to the payment of Cæsar's legacies to the people, and to the exhibition of magnificent games. All Antonius' intrigues proving unavailing to divert the current of popular favour from his rival, he thought it wisest to come to terms, the more as he needed the assistance of Octavianus for the accomplishment of

§ 43 his designs respecting the provinces. He found it

170) ad Att. XIV. 21. § 2: *Et nosti virum, quam tectus* (Balbus), *sed tamen Antonii consilia narrabat: illum circumire veteranos, ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent, ut rata omnes haberent eaque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent.* 171) So App. III. 5; who adds, doubtless by mere conjecture, that after the execution of the pretender Marius the senate authorised Antonius to form a body-guard of veterans for the defence of his person against the rabble. In Cicero's letters we find no hint either of such a permission or of the levy of an armed force before the journey in April and May. 172) §§ 100 seq.

easier again to bring over to his side another antagonist, who had arisen against him during his absence. This was no other than his colleague Dolabella, whose bearing had been such, that the *optimates* flattered themselves with the hope of winning him as an ally. We have already seen, how Antonius quelled the excesses of the mutineers at Cæsar's *bustum* by the execution of the counterfeit Marius. But the altar, which had been erected in the form of a pillar[173], was still standing, and soon again became the rendezvous for all the discontented of the populace. Sacrifices were still offered upon it, vows paid, and disputes settled by oaths sworn in Cæsar's name[174]. But this fanatical idolatry was only the cloak of the most dangerous designs, which threatened the life and property of the better citizens[175]. Dolabella at length (at the end of April) put a stop to the ferment[176]; he sent a strong force against the brigands, with orders to clear the Forum. Part of the mutinous masses offered resistance; these were either cut down on the spot, or taken prisoners, and, if slaves, crucified, if free-born, thrown from the Tarpeian rock[177]. Finally, the pillar,

173) Suet. Caes. 85: *postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit* (plebs) *scripsitque PARENTI PATRIAE.* 174) Suet. l. c. 175) Cic. Cassio (ad fam. XII. 1. § 1): *manabat illud malum urbanum et ita conroborabatur cotidie, ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano.* Cf. also the letter of Brutus and Cassius to M. Antonius (ad fam. XI. 2. § 2): *Quare petimus a te facias nos certiores tuae voluntatis in nos: putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus: quod velle et probare vix quisquam posse videtur, qui nos salvos et honestos velit.* 176) ad Att. XIV. 15. 177) App. III. 3, where however the earlier interposition of Antonius is confounded with the later of Dolabella. Cic. ad Att. XIV. 15. § 2: *O mirificum Dolabellam meum! iam enim dico meum, antea, crede mihi,*

the beacon of mutiny, was rased to the ground, the
§ 44 site levelled and paved. The great applause, which Dolabella won by this bold stroke[178], may have inspired him with the thought of assuming an independent position with relation to Antonius, and of making a bid for the leadership of the aristocratical party[179]. Antonius however knew his man; he directed the scrivener Faberius to draw up in Cæsar's name and in favour of Dolabella an order on the treasure in the temple of Ops[180]; Dolabella was relieved from his embarrassments and the threatened opposition was silenced, the rather as he was apprehensive that if he provoked Antonius, he might forfeit the province of Syria which he had already secured, and with it the expectations of a rich plunder[181].

§ 45 In Cæsar's allotment of the provinces, several had fallen to the share of conspirators, *Gallia cisalpina* to

subdubitabam. Magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet: de saxo, in crucem, columnam tollere, locum illum sternendum locare. Phil. I. §§ 5, 30, II. § 107. [178]) Phil. I. § 30. ad Att. XIV. 16. § 2, 17. § 7. [179]) ad Att. XIV. 20. § 2: *L. Antonii horribilis contio, Dolabellae praeclara:* and esp. § 4: *Dolabellae et prima illa actio et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profecisse permultum videtur: prorsus ibat res. Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum municipia bonique desiderant.* [180]) As Cicero writes to Atticus (XIV. 18. § 1) on the 8th of May: '*O hominem pudentem! Kal. Ian. debuit* (sc. solvere), *adhuc non solvit, praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberii manu liberarit et opem ab eo petierit,* which we can scarcely understand of a draft which had been drawn immediately before; we must probably assume (cf. the passages cited in n. 179, which were written three days later) that Dolabella was won by a new bribe (see the allusions Phil. I. §§ 29 and 31 ad fin.). Cf. too ad Att. XVI. 15. § 1: *idque prae me feram, et quidem me mea facere et rei publicae causa ut illum* (Dolabellam) *oderim, quod, cum eam me auctore defendere coepisset, non modo deseruerit emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit everterit.* [181]) Cf. P. Lentulus' letter (of later date) ad fam. XII. 15.

Decimus Brutus, Asia to C. Trebonius, to Tillius Cimber Bithynia; to the prætors M. Brutus and Cassius Macedonia and Syria were assigned for the year 43, after the expiration of their year of office[182]. The first three had set out for their provinces, either immediately after Cæsar's tumultuous funeral, or in the course of April[183]; which M. Brutus and Cassius as prætors were unable to do. After the Ides of March they tarried in Rome for about a month, but since the decisive day of the burial lived in entire seclusion. About the middle of April they left Rome, and moved to and fro among the municipal towns in the vicinity, waiting for a possible change of popular feeling. They § 46
purposed to shew themselves again in Rome on the first of June, for on that day Antonius had appointed a meeting of the senate which was anticipated with eager excitement; but were daunted by the veterans, who escorted Antonius on his return from his progress. One of Antonius' first measures in the month of June was to secure the permanent removal from Rome of the two chiefs of the adverse faction. First of all Brutus was relieved, by a *lex* introduced by Antonius, from the constitutional restriction which made it illegal for a *praetor urbanus*[184] to be absent from the city more than 10 days; next, also on the proposal of Antonius[185], he and Cassius on the 5th of June[186] received a *cura annonae*, i.e. a commission to purchase

[182]) App. III. 2. [183]) Dio XLIV. 51. Cicero (ad Att. XIV. 10. § 1) says Trebonius travelled to his province '*itineribus deviis.*' [184]) That the limitation only applied to the *praetor urbanus*, is evident from Phil. II. § 31. [185]) '*beneficio Antonii contumelioso*' (ad Att. XV. 12. § 9). [186]) ad Att. XV. 9. § 1.

corn for the state, Brutus in Crete, Cassius in Cy-
§ 47 rene[187]. The provinces assigned to them by Cæsar had already been otherwise disposed of. As early as the month of April[188] Dolabella had received Syria from the people, with the right of conducting the war against the Parthians[189]; whereupon Antonius procured from the senate Macedonia, where were posted the legions, which Cæsar had sent forward for the same war[190]. Afterwards he desired to exchange this province for *Gallia cisalpina**, with the proviso that the legions should be transported thither, and that Decimus Brutus should receive Macedonia without an army. What the senate denied was conceded by the people, as he had desired[191]. The refusal of Brutus to abandon Gaul was afterwards the occasion of the so-called *bellum Mutinense.*

§ 48 Under these circumstances, Brutus and Cassius perceived that it was no longer feasible to remain in Italy. Yet it was with reluctance that they resolved on departing for their provinces. Brutus in particular wished to await the result of the *ludi Apollinares*[192] which belonged to the office of the *praetor urbanus*, and which in his name and at his charges[193] were

187) Phil. II. §§ 31, 97. 188) as C. Peter (in Schneidewin's Philologus, VIII. 427) has shewn good grounds for believing. 189) App. III. 7. 190) App. III. 8. [* There was a report that Antonius would demand both the Gauls, transalpine as well as cisalpine (ad Att. XIV. 4. § 4, Phil. I. § 8).] 191) App. III. 24, 30, 37. The transfer was probably made before the end of June. In July the Macedonian legions were already expected at Brundisium (ad Att. XVI. 2. § 4, 4. § 3, 5. § 3). On the 9th of October Antonius left Rome to receive them. 192) they began on the 7th of July; see ad Att. XVI. 4. § 1. 193) ad Att. XV. 12. § 1 : (Brutus) *statim se iturum, simul ac ludorum apparatum iis, qui curaturi essent, tradidisset.* [Brutus pur-

solemnised by the prætor Gaius Antonius[194]. But the acclamations were the mere empty plaudits of gratified sight-seers[195]; the hope of a general rising in favour of the liberators was frustrated[196]. Accordingly in the month of August the embarcation so long deferred at last took place. From the coast of southern Italy they issued a farewell edict[197], declaring their readiness to live in perpetual exile, if it were necessary for the harmony and peace of the commonwealth. When Brutus lay at anchor at Velia, he for the last time had
a meeting with Cicero*. Cicero too, having openly § 49
greeted Cæsar's death as the breaking dawn of freedom, had been warned by the disastrous scenes of the funeral and its consequences to withdraw from Rome to his estates. He saw with sorrow the frame of the state long undermined tottering to its inevitable fall, and yet continued to cheat himself with hopes of a

chased a large number of wild beasts for the games, and gave orders that all should be killed; he went down to Neapolis to engage actors, making especial endeavours to secure a popular Greek, one Canutius: and begged Cicero by no means to be absent. Plut. Brut. 21 Cf. Dio XLVII. 20, Cic. ad Att. XV. 26. § 1.] 194) App. III. 23. ad Att. XVI. 5. § 3. 195) ad Att. XVI. 2. § 3 · *Bruto tuae litterae gratae erant. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur et habere maiorem Attio quam Antonio gratiam. Mihi autem quo laetiora sunt, eo plus stomachi et molestiae est populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica, sed in plaudendo consumere.* Cf. Phil. I. § 36, II. § 31. 196) App. III. 24. 197) I. § 8. Vell. II. 62. § 3 : *M. Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam eius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum res publica constaret et concordia, nec ullam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, profecti urbe atque Italia* etc. [* Phil. I. § 9. ad Att. XVI. 7. § 5: *Nam* XVI. *Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit: erat enim cum suis navibus apud Haletem fluvium citra Veliam milia passuum* III. *Pedibus ad me statim.*]

change for the better, so that he could not prevail upon himself to execute the long-formed plan of deserting Italy. In this perplexity it was a welcome relief to him, when Dolabella, after he had received the province of Syria, nominated him as his *legatus*[198]. He had thus a colourable excuse for absence. With a heavy heart he began his journey on the 17th of July, intending in the first place to make for Greece; for nothing was further from his intention than actually to discharge the functions of *legatus*[199]. On the 1st of August he reached Syracuse, where he took ship for
§ 50 Greece[200]. Being however detained by contrary winds, he learnt from citizens of Rhegium the improved posture of affairs at Rome, and was even assured that Antonius was disposed to come to a perfect understanding with the senate[201]. The day assigned for the

[198]) Phil. I. § 8: *Quae cum audire mallem quam videre, haberemque ius legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis* (i. e. 1 Jan. 43). Cicero's was not strictly a *legatio libera* (i. e. without limitation to any place), such as senators often procured in troublous times as a decent pretext for absence from Italy, but he was nominally *legatus* of Dolabella for Syria. Still his right was *liberum*, in so far as he was by virtue of it free to go and come. Cf. Ep. ad Att. XV. 11. § 4: *Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d.* IIII. *Nonas; id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum est. Votiva* (sc. legatio) *ne tibi quidem placebat. Etenim erat absurdum, quae, si stetisset res publica, vovissem, ea me eversa illa vota suscipere, et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest. Aveo genus legationis, ut, cum velis, introire exire liceat: quod nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huius iuris quinquennii licentia.* [199]) ad Att. XV. 19. § 2: *A Dolabella mandata habeo, quae mihi videbuntur, id est nihil:* and XV. 20. § 1: *Dolabellae mandata sint quaelibet, mihi aliquid* (sc. mandet) *vel quod Niciae nuntiem.* [200]) I. § 7. [201]) I. § 7. Cf. ad Att. XVI. 7. § 1: VIII. *Id. Sext. cum a Leucopetra profectus—inde enim tramittebam—stadia circiter* CCC. *processissem, reiectus sum austro vehementi ad eandem Leucopetram. Ibi cum ventum exspectarem—erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem et libenter—, Rhegini quidam, inlustres homines, eo*

happy reconciliation was the first of September, when a full meeting of the senate was anticipated, whereas of late the patriots, especially since Antonius had begun to check all freedom of debate by the presence of troops, had not dared to take their seats. This cheering news determined Cicero at once to return; on the last of August he entered the city after an absence of half a year.

On the march of events in Rome after the arrival § 51
of Antonius, our information is very scanty. We have no detailed accounts even of the often mentioned session of the 1st of June, when a commission was to be named[202], which should put a stop to further abuse of Cæsar's papers, by ascertaining what were his genuine acts. The meeting from fear of Antonius' military dispositions was very thinly attended[203]; it appears however from distinct statements in Cicero's letters[204] that the commission was actually appointed.

venerunt Roma sane recentes, in iis Bruti nostri hospes, qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset. Haec adferebant: edictum Bruti et Cassii, et fore frequentem senatum Kalendis, a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas ad consulares et praetorios ut adessent rogare. Summam spem nuntiabant fore ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari. Quae cum audissem, sine ulla dubitatione abieci consilium profectionis, quo me hercule ne antea quidem delectabar. [202]) Phil. II. § 100: *sic placuerat ut Kal. Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis.* [203]) II. § 108 ad fin. ad Att. XIV. 22. § 2: *Equidem in his locis moneor a multis, ne in senatu Kalendis; dicuntur enim occulte milites ad eam diem parati et quidem in istos* (liberatores), *qui mihi videntur ubivis tutius quam in senatu fore.* [204]) Cic. Capitoni (ad Att. XVI. 16 c. § 11): *Deinde, quem ad modum tu scis—interfuisti enim, cum consules oporteret ex senatus consulto de actis Caesaris cognoscere—, res ab iis in Kalendas dilata est. Accessit ad senatus consultum lex, quae lata est a. d.* IIII. *Non. Iun., quae lex earum rerum, quas Caesar statuisset decrevisset egisset, consulibus* (i.e. to them and the elected committee of the senate, see ad Att. XVI. 16. § 18) *cognitionem dedit*; cf. too ad Att. XVI. 16. § 8. Hence it is no slight misrepresentation, when Cic. says,

Ignorant as we are of the conclusions[205] arrived at by this conclave appointed by the influence of Antonius and under his presidency, one thing we may regard as certain, that he would not consent to any restrictions, as is manifest e. g. from the law respecting the province of Crete, which Cicero (Phil. II. § 97)
§ 52 has justly ridiculed. In general it may be asserted, that after the first of June Antonius governed more despotically than ever. Trusting to the support of the band of veterans which he had brought with him[206], he now adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the senate, and looked to the people for the attainment of his ends[207]; indeed, at this time he was even suspected of aiming at the dictatorship, which he had himself
§ 53 abolished in the senate[208]. Supported by the giddy multitude Antonius now ventured to bring forward laws, directly superseding some of Cæsar's[209]. For instance, Cæsar, taking warning by his own example (for it was to his long-continued government in Gaul that he owed the inclination and the means for compassing the supreme power)[210], had made a law, that

Phil. II. § 100: *quem umquam convocasti?* [205]) Some such are mentioned ad Att. XVI. 16 E and F. §§ 15 and 18. [206]) Brutus et Cassius Antonio (ad fam. XI. 2. § 1): *Scribitur nobis magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romam convenisse iam et ad Kal. Iunias futuram multo maiorem.* Cf. Phil. II. §§ 8, 15, 19, 100, 104, 112, esp. § 108. The alleged reason for establishment of a body-guard was the fear of treachery; see ad Att. XV. 17. § 1: *de consulum ficto timore cognoveram:* and cf. Phil. I. § 27 ad fin. II. § 112. [207]) Phil. I. § 6, II. § 109. As early as 23 May Cicero wrote to Atticus (XV. 4. § 1): *Antonii consilia narras turbulenta: atque utinam potius per populum agat quam per senatum, quod quidem ita credo. Sed mihi totum eius consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur.* [208]) ad Att. XV. 21. § 1. [209]) Phil. I. §§ 18 seq. II. § 109. [210]) Dio XLIII. 25.

late prætors should only hold a government for one year, consulars for not more than two successive years, and generally, that no *imperium* should be held for a longer term. Antonius, who hoped one day, like Cæsar, at the head of a formidable force to plunder his *Gallia cisalpina*, instigated tribunes to bring in a bill, whereby he and Dolabella as consuls of the current year were guaranteed the exceptional privilege of a 5-years' tenure of government[211]. When Cicero again entered Rome, two new bills of Antonius, unmistakably of democratic tendency, were promulgated, one for the creation of a third decury of jurors[212], the other granting an appeal to the people in actions for assault and for high treason[213].

[211]) I. § 19, II. § 109. In the above account we have adopted Mommsen's view (*Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat*, p. 43), who has confuted the common hypothesis that Antonius altogether rescinded the law of Cæsar. The number of years is variously given by Cicero. In Phil. V. § 7, we read: *Tribuni pl. tulerunt de provinciis contra acta Caesaris, ille biennium, iste sexennium;*)(VIII. § 28: *ipse autem ut quinqennium, inquit, obtineam* (sc. provinciam Galliam comatam). *At istud vetat lex Caesaris et tu acta Caesaris defendis.* With this agrees ep. ad Att. XV. 11. § 4, where it appears that Dolabella received the province of Syria for five years. Mommsen (l. c.) explains the discrepancy by supposing that in the *sexennium* the year of succession is also taken into account. [212]) The law is mentioned as existing Phil. V. § 12 and VIII. § 27. Phil. I. § 19: *Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria, nonne omnes iudiciariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur?* Cf. ib. § 20. The *lex Aurelia* of the prætor L. Aurelius Cotta (B. C. 70) created 3 decuries of *iudices*, one of senators, one of knights, one of *tribuni aerarii*. Pompeius (B. C. 55) limited the choice to the wealthiest members of the three orders, and changed the mode of election. Cæsar (B. C. 46) limited the *iudicia* to senators and knights. Antonius again created a third *decuria*, consisting chiefly of centurions and discharged soldiers. But the law did not long remain in force. [213]) Phil. I. §§ 21—23. There was no appeal against a sentence pronounced in *quaestiones perpetuae*, because in such actions all sentences appeared to be pronounced in the name of the people,

§ 54 That the general condition of affairs was not so hopeful as Cicero had been assured on his journey, was seen on the 1st of September, in the meeting of the senate convened by Antonius in the temple of Concordia. Antonius there proposed, that in all *supplicationes* a day in honour of Cæsar should be added [214], i. e. that on occasion of every thanksgiving for public successes, a special day should be appropriated for offerings to the deified Cæsar [215]. As Cicero was doubtless informed beforehand of the subject of the deliberation, he excused himself to Antonius for non-appearance, on the plea that he had not recovered from the fatigue of his journey. The threat which Antonius thereupon let fall, that he would pull down his house about his ears [216], was not indeed carried out, but it plainly shewed that he was determined that the

which, as these regular trials were introduced for most offences, gradually delegated its powers to the prætor and the *iudices* appointed by him. 214) Phil. II. § 110: *an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es* etc. 215) This explanation is favoured by Dio XLIII. 44: 'They granted Cæsar a public residence, and a special festival (*ἱερομηνίαν ἐξαίρετον*=*propriam supplicationem*), whenever sacrifices should be offered in honour of a victory;' where however Dio is mistaken in fixing the date of this grant immediately after the battle of Munda. He says correctly of the honours conferred after Cæsar's death, (XLV. 7): 'on certain thanksgivings for victory (*ἱερομηνίαις*) they offered sacrifices in honour of his name on a day specially appropriated to that purpose.' And of the triumvirs he says (XLVII. 18): 'They founded a chapel (*ἡρῷον*) to him as a hero in the Forum and on the spot where he had been burnt, and also at the horse-races (*ludis circensibus*) carried an image of him in procession with one of Venus; and when news came of any victory, they granted the distinction of a thanksgiving severally to the conqueror and to Cæsar even after his death.' I have cited these passages at length, because the account in Drumann (I. 192) and Brückner (I. 731) is inaccurate. 216) Phil. I. §§ 11, 12. V. § 19: *huc etiam nisi venirem Kal. Sept., fabros se missurum et domum meam disturbaturum esse dixit.* [Plut. Cic. 43.]

consular should declare himself either as friend or foe. On the following day the senate again assembled in §55 the temple of Concordia; Cicero appeared, but no Antonius. In this sitting Cicero delivered the first of his speeches against Antonius, known as Philippics [217]. In it he endeavoured to explain his long absence from the senate and sudden return, deprecated Antonius' harsh requital of his non-attendance the day before, and frankly spoke his mind about the line of policy pursued by the consul and his colleague, yet still with a certain reserve and moderation *, as he was loath entirely to foreclose every avenue of accommodation. Antonius, who was irritated by the speech §56 beyond measure, immediately renounced his friendship, and did not long delay an answer [218]. In a meeting of

217) If we may trust the collection of letters between Cicero and Brutus, the occasion of this title was accidental. Brutus writes II. 5. § 4: *Legi orationes duas tuas, quarum altera Kal. Ian. usus es* (Phil. V.), *altera de litteris meis* (Phil. X.), *quae habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc exspectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contineatur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola iocans scripsisti.* And Cicero says II. 4. § 2: *De te etiam dixi tum quae dicenda putavi. Haec ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris.* In the historians and grammarians, as well as in the MSS., the speeches are called *Philippicae;* A. Gellius however always uses the title '*Orationes Antonianae.*' [Plut. (Cic. 24 and 48) distinctly says that Cic. himself entitled his speeches against Antonius Philippics. So App. b. c. IV. 20. Plutarch also (Cic. 41) cites a written reply of Antonius to the Philippics (*ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς ἀντιγραφαῖς*). Quintil. III. 8. § 46: *cum Ciceroni dabimus consilium*, 'ut Antonium roget,' *vel etiam* 'ut Philippicas' (*ita vitam pollicente eo*) 'exurat.' (These seem to have been favourite themes for rhetorical exercises. See Sen. suas. VI.). Suet. rhet. 5 and Juvenal also use this title. Gellius four times (I. 22, VII. 11, XIII. 1, and 21 or 22) cites *Antonianae*, once (I. 16) '*M. Cicero in sexta in Antonium.*'] [* Yet cf. c. 13 § 33: *domestici.*] 218) Phil. V. § 19: *Locutus sum de re publica, minus equidem libere quam mea consuetudo, liberius*

the senate on Sept. 19, from which Cicero kept away out of fear for his life[219], Antonius delivered a lengthy oration, in which with merciless caricature he held up Cicero's conduct both as a man and as a politician to unqualified contempt. Cicero wanted heart to reply to this speech by word of mouth; but he wrote the second Philippic*, which however he did not pluck

tamen quam periculi minae postulabant. At ille homo vehemens et violentus, qui hanc consuetudinem libere dicendi excluderet, inimicitias mihi denuntiavit, adesse in senatum iussit a. d. XIII. *Kal. Octobres. Ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis declamitavit sitim quaerens; haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solet.* 219) Cic. Cassio (ad fam. XII. 2. § 1) *Sed homo amens et perditus...caedis initium quaerit nullamque aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Caesaris interficiendi criminatur nisi ut in me veterani incitentur...Ita nec Pisoni, qui in eum primus invectus est, nec mihi, qui idem tricesimo post die feci, nec P. Servilio, qui me est consecutus, tuto in senatum venire licet. Caedem enim gladiator quaerit eiusque initium a. d.* XIII. *Kal. Oct. a me se facturum putavit* etc. [Phil. III. §. 33.] [* The speech was first communicated to a few friends, and some alterations were made in it by the advice of Atticus. See ad Att. XV. 13. § 1 (from Puteoli, 25 Oct. 44): *orationem tibi misi. Eius custodiendae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. Sed quando illum diem, cum tu edendam putes?...* § 7: *Haec cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatam. Hui, quam timeo, quid existimes! etsi quid ad me, quae non sit foras proditura, nisi re publica reciperata? De quo quid sperem, non audeo scribere.* ibid. XVI. 11. § 1 seq. (from Puteoli 5 Nov. 44, partly quoted below, § 3. l. 8 n.): *Tu vero leges Sexto eiusque iudicium mihi perscribes. Εἷς ἐμοὶ μύριοι. Caleni interventum et Calvenae cavebis.* § 2: *Quod vereris, ne ἀδόλεσχος mihi tu: quis minus?...Quod me admones, tu vero etiamsi reprehenderes, non modo facile paterer, sed etiam laetarer; quippe; cum in reprehensione est prudentia cum εὐμενείᾳ. Ita libenter ea corrigam, quae a te animadversa sunt.* Eodem iure, quo Rubriana *potius, quam* quo Scipionis (cf. infr. § 103); *et de laudibus Dolabellae deruam cumulum* (cf. § 107). *Attamen est isto loco* (§ 75) *bella, ut mihi videtur, εἰρωνεία, quod eum ter contra cives in acie. Illud etiam malo,* indignissimum est hunc vivere, *quam:* quid indignius? (§ 83). § 3: ...Anagnini (§ 106) *sunt, Mustela ταξιάρχης et Laco, qui plurimum bibit.* ibid. 14. § 4 he again desires to hear what Sextus thinks of the speech: *Sexti iudicium exspecto.*]

up courage to publish, until Antonius had left Rome, in order to wrest from Decimus Brutus by force of arms the province which the people had revoked. It was succeeded by twelve others[220], the contents of which need not here be given. It is divided into two § 57
parts, a defensive, in which the orator rebuts the charges brought against himself, and an offensive, in which he paints in the darkest colours the public and private life of his opponent. In order to give the composition the freshness of a spoken harangue, it assumes to be an immediate reply to Antonius' speech in the senate†. Cicero, who had the fairer field for invective in the life of Antonius, doubtless came off victorious in the combat of words, but his enemy's power was neither crushed nor even shaken[221]; the written reply*, which Antonius vouchsafed a year

220) The grammarian Nonius cites two passages of a 16th speech, which are not found in the extant Philippics. See the Zürich edition p. 1410. [† The scene is laid in the temple of Concord (§§ 15, 19, 112), on the 19th of September (§ 110). Calenus, in his invective against Cicero, comments severely on his practice of preparing speeches for publication, which were never delivered. (Dio XLVI. 7, 8): 'When you mount the tribunal you quake for fear, as though it were a matter of life and death; your studied eloquence slips from you, and all you say is tame and dead (τεθνηκός). Not one of all your famous orations was really pronounced as we read it; There is your accusation against Verres for example...I say nothing of the books which you compose against your friends; which you do not dare to publish from a consciousness of the villainy of the act.' Milo, when living in exile, on receiving a copy of the extant speech *pro Milone*, wrote back, that it was a happy chance for him that Cicero had not spoken as he had written; otherwise he should have missed the delicious mullets of Massilia (ib. XL. 54).] 221) Cf. ep. ad fam. XII. 22. § 1: *Nos hic cum homine gladiatore omnium nequissimo, collega nostro Antonio, bellum gerimus, sed non pari condicione contra arma verbis.* [* What Ant. would have said, may be gathered from the invective of Q. Fufius Calenus against Cicero (Dio XLVI. 1—28), which is in the main a reply to

later, was the death-warrant of the greatest of Roman orators †.

the second Philippic, as Cicero's invective against Antonius (ib. XLV. 18—47) is in great part a reproduction of it.]
[† In the proscription of the triumvirs Lepidus gave up to death his brother L. Paullus, Antonius his uncle L. Cæsar (infr. § 14), and Octavianus Cicero (Liv. perioch. CXX. Plut. Cic. 46). Antonius despatched the centurion Herennius and M. Popilius Lænas, by whom Cicero was murdered 7 Dec. B.C. 43, aet. 64. (dial. de orat. 17. § 2. See the extracts from Livy and others, all describing the murder, in Sen. suas. 6; cf. Plut. Ant. 20, Cic. 48, 49). App. b. c. IV. 20: 'Then Lænas, though he had once won an action through Cicero's advocacy, drew his head from the litter and cut it off, striking or rather sawing it three times; so unhandy was he. He likewise cut off the hand, wherewith Cicero wrote those orations against the tyranny of Antonius, which in imitation of Demosthenes he called Philippics. On the instant expresses posted away by sea and land to convey the good news to Antonius. Lænas on his arrival, finding Antonius seated in the forum, waved the head and hand while yet a long way off, by way of displaying them. Antonius overjoyed put a crown on the centurion's head, and gave him over and above the promised reward 250,000 Attic drachms, as having rid him of the greatest and most rancorous of his enemies. Cicero's head and hand long hung from the rostra, where he used to speak; and more now flocked together to see him, than formerly to hear. It is said that Antonius set Cicero's head before the table at his meal, till he had glutted himself with the sight.' Fulvia is said (Dio XLVII. 8) to have placed the head upon her knees, and pricked with hair-pins the tongue which had abused her. On receiving the ghastly offering, Antonius exclaimed that the proscription was complete (Plut. Cic. 49). Cf. Vell. II. 64. §§ 3, 4: *Haec sunt tempora, quibus M. Tullius continuis actionibus aeternas Antonii memoriae inussit notas. Sed hic fulgentissimo et caelesti ore, at tribunus Canutius continua rabie lacerabat Antonium. Utrique vindicta libertatis morte stetit: sed tribuni sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis, velut satiato Antonio poena, finita.*]

[Tacitus dial. 37: *nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et ANTONIUS hanc illi famam circumdederunt.*]

M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN M. ANTONIUM

PHILIPPICARUM LIBER SECUNDUS.

I. 1. QUONAM meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non bellum eodem tempore mihi quo[illegible] indixerit? Nec vero necesse est quemquam [illegible] nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini. Mihi [illegible] illi plus quam optarem dederunt: te mi[illegible]oni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non p[illegible]escere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei publicae causa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro me maledictis lacessisti tuamque a me alienationem commendationem tibi ad inpios cives fore putavisti. 2. Quid putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi? Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium

dicere? Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. 3. Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, sed aetatis flore collectam? non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes [Q. Fadii] libertini hominis fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—, domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere licuisset.—4. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! o inpudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent. III. 5. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli: malui me tibi

debere confiteri quam cuiquam minus prudenti no satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, cum tu occideres? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint eis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me a te, quam miserum te id inpune facere potuisse. 6. Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem abstinere maledictis, praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses, cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia, cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere, cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses, cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis, cum omnes inpuritates inpudica in domo cotidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. 7. At ego, tamquam mihi cum M. Crasso

ontentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum conloquia absentium? Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! 8. Sit hoc inhumanitatis: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis, quo modo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus;—sed quid opponas tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse? Quo me teste convincas? an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. 9. Quid enim est minus non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obicere adversario, quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit qui obiecerit? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, officii, benevolentiae?

Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in his litteris non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam: quibus petis ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque id te invito me non esse facturum. Idque a me impetrasti. Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae, quam neque auctoritas huius ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullae possent coercere? 10. Verum tamen quid erat quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse, in quo ne ipsius quidem ullă esse poterat lēge lātā.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro, si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderationem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est: ego sine ulla controversia consularis. 11. Ut igitur intellegeretis, qualem ipse se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum. Qui consulatus verbō meus, patres conscripti, rē vester fuit. Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex huius ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio sapi-

entiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium, qui vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale. 12. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuus; placuit Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas; placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni, C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo, D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant consules designati; placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni, qui cum multa vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit. Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit, qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, conplexus et gratulans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret, qui mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam. VI. 13. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus eis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus adsensus est, qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini. 14. L. Caesar, avunculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam

dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum: tu, sororis filius, ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? di immortales! Ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis etiam dies natales audiendi sunt. 15. Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? neminem nominabo: putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam! o inpudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica nihil referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt? VII. Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu homines perditissimos cum gladiis conlocavisti? 16. At etiam ausus es—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?—clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni nosti—sive sunt, qui apud tales viros tam inpudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina

illorum capere potuerunt. 17. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae parricidio confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse, quis esset qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contigisset.—Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne Publius quidem Clodius dixit umquam: quem quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis esse superatum. 18. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam inprobum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares, non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria, ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi tecum esset contentio. Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena adfectum querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est, laudasti, quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti: nam conprehensio sontium mea, animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. 19. Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae—cupit enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime vult, stultitiae, qua vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales, in qua me consule salutares sententiae dictae sunt,

quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines conlocati stent? Accusa senatum, accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit, accusa omnes ordines, omnes cives, dum confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam inpudenter, sed quia, cum tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim dementius quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria? 20. At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! in quo est tua culpa non nulla; aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. Cedant arma togae. Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo: tantum dicam breviter, te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse, me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monimentorum meorum perfecisse, ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.

IX. 21. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset iisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem

transegit quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat? 22. Quamquam de morte Clodii fuit quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta; quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen —: quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres?

23. Quod vero dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque causam culpa mea bellum civile esse natum, in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti. X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, suadere inpudentis. 24. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquennii imperium Caesari prorogaret, alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium,

tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent: unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. 65. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior. XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo 'modo egens repente dives.' Sed, ut est apud poëtam nescio quem, 'male parta male dilabuntur.' 66. Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis: horum paucis diebus nihil erat. 67. Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus, me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum; totos dies potabatur atque id locis

pluribus: suggerebantur etiam saepe—non enim semper iste felix—damna aleatoria. Conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta: non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. 68. At idem aedes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare? tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os inpurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum. XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. 69. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi admirandus, neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis: huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat: nolite quaerere; frugi factus est: illam mimam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duo-

decim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium. 70. At quam crebro usurpat 'et consul et Antonius:' hoc est dicere: et consul et inpudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulem et Antonium—numquam dixit—: dixisset etiam conlega meus, patruus tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius. XXIX. 71. Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est. Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras, multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut nonnullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis, quid fuit causae cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. 72. Primo respondisti plane ferociter et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas. A me C.

Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis? Ius postulabas, sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat. 73. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedes tuos milites misit, cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa, eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa conlisa, sordidata mancipia, ut doleremus quicquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. 74. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubrii decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica: de quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

XXX. 75. Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit.

Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista causa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella: in Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia: tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant—esto; fuerit haec partium causa communis—: repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi?—tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? quem? te, sectorem. An cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

76. Qui vero Narbone reditus? etiam quaerebat cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei: volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris, deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae, e qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur, petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et

lacerna cucurristi. XXXI. 77. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite obvoluto. Ianitor: 'Quis tu?' 'A Marco tabellarius.' Confestim ad eam, cuius causa venerat, eique epistulam tradidit. Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim scripta amatorie; caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc transfudisse—: cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors ferre non potuit: caput aperuit, in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut te Catamitum, nec opinato cum te ostendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti? 78. Et domi quidem causam amoris habuisti, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a tribuno pl. cum respondisses te rei tuae causa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis: ad maiora veniamus.

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam longissime processisti. Celeriter isti redisti, ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum. Factus es ei rursus nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar: quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque, cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime recipiebat. 79. His igitur rebus praeclare commendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum

ipso. Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est inpulsus, inductus, elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille promissum et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidiae voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae: cogimur in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. 80. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se prius quam proficisceretur Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum—quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et diceret—: sed cum Caesar ita dixisset, tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel inpedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse adseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite. 81. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii iure facere posse dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem. Esto: hoc inperite; nec enim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte inpudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit se Dolabellae comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut id facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia inpudentia est: nec scit quod augurem, nec facit quod pudentem decet. 82. Itaque ex illo die recordamini eius usque ad Idus

Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia rogabat; caput in aversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quae venderet, a collega petebat. XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies: sortitio praerogativae; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur: quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi. 83. Confecto negotio bonus augur—C. Laelium diceres—alio die inquit. O inpudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia, obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum, augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere, quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium deferantur. 84. Sed adrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella: rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confitere te, cum alio die dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit augur a collega requiro.

XXXIV. Sed ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antonii rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia

fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. 85. Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—, diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema inponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui, cum auctor regni esses eumque, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles, idem temptares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. 86. At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex te ad pedes abiciebas. Quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam; dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam vivere eum qui inposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse qui abiecerit? 87. At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia: C. Caesari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam, iam minime miror te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latroni-

bus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus est, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

XXXV. 88. Sed ad auspicia redeamus, de quibus Idibus Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero: tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod iis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua fuga! quae formido praeclaro illo die! quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae, cum ex illa fuga beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse voluerunt, clam te domum recepisti. 89. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die neque postero vidi, neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum inportunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnes aditus armati obsiderent. 90. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit! quamquam mihi inimicus subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris. XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di immortales, et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister officii, inprobum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. 91. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio, tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustilatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen quasi fuligine abstersa reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus, scis de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuum de re publica sustulisti: quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut †eius omne nomen propter proximum dictatoris metum tolleres. 92. Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num igitur me fefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur, neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re pub-

lica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis; neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est. XXXVII. 93. Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen quae nos, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Apriles debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te, sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. 94. Quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? aeque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens rex Deiotarus quicquam aequi boni inpetravit, apud mortuum factus est gratiosus? Conpellarat hospitem praesens, conputarat, pecuniam inpetrarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. 95. Haec vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus. At quibus verbis? modo aequum sibi videri, modo non iniquum. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro—quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequum dixit videri. Syngrapha sestertii centiens per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et inperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaecio est, quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha

quid sis acturus meditere censeo: rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo Marte res suas reciperavit. 96. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea tyrannis interfectis ei, quibus erepta essent, reciperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham reciperatae: non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. 97. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam institores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium vectigalibus liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es conpos? tu non constringendus? In Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum Caesare vivo pertineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor. 98. Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem: tantum queror, primum eorum reditus inquinatos, quorum causam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas: neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt.

Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam inpulisti, eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas moveret. 99. Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunus pl. sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt, cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? intervenit enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia condicione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis: probri insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Quid est quod addi possit? contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum esse oblatum comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, inpudentiorne, qui in senatu, an inprobior, qui in Dolabellam, an inpurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam inpie dixeris? XXXIX. 100. Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convocasti? quas Kalendas

Iunias exspectasti? an eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius paene non abieris, scimus. 101. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! Quid prandiorum adparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt, illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae vulnus putabamus, hunc tu conpransoribus tuis et conlusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano conlocatos. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria milia iugerum: quid, si te sanasset? rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset? Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus. XL. 102. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu quidem, sed idem de Casilino respondissem: possesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam iure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres: cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene

perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minueretur. 103. Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo iure? quo ore? Eodem, inquies, quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo in heredum L. Turselii praedia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles possessiones. Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis veniisse dicit? quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem praeconis audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a Caesare. Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit! 104. Quis vero audivit umquam—nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit—de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid? si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta inpudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus: iam intelleges aliam causam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae: non enim te dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit. XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime es perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera quam dispari domino! Quamquam quo modo iste dominus? sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium. 105. Quae in illa villa antea dicebantur! quae cogitabantur! quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monimenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino—non enim domino—personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum, natabant pavimenta vino, madebant parietes, ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias versabantur. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. 106. Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte Aquinates, sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? Qui cum essent devii descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu est; sed sum vicinus; inter omnes constabat neminem esse resalutatum, praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, quorum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. 107. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos clientes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse. XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—: collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe ut dissimilis esset sui.

108. Qui vero inde reditus Romam! quae perturbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis poten-

tem, Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Caesarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis sequuntur: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. 109. At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam, sed potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit, idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum inritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. 110. Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? Sume diem, vide qui te inauguret: collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod Caesaris sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus

dies qui sit ignores? Nescis heri quartum in circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es, pulvinaria contaminari noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva. 111. Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet: sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam: disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

XLIV. 112. Sed praeterita omittamus: hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidii sui causa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium: caritate te et benevolentia civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. 113. Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam

salvis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum reciperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adulescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores: quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. 114. Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspitionem regni adpetendi sunt necati: hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum adpetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt. Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum [est], praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

XLV. 115. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique Romani, confer cum hac

inmani nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum intelleges quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinerosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus adlicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit? 116. Quod si non metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctes timere a suis? nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex eis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat; muneribus, monimentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem inperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat: quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi. XLVI. 117. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es. Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni exstitit, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque intellegis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re

pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? 118. Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas considera; mecum, uti voles: redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, e[illegible] de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publica[illegible] lescens, non deseram senex: contemp[illegible] gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Q[illegible] [illegible]pus libenter obtulerim, si repraesent[illegible] [illegible] libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando [illegible] [illegible]puli Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. [illegible] Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus iis, quas *adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum, ut* moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

PASSAGES

IN WHICH CONJECTURES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED.

(*The MS. readings are those of the Cod. Vaticanus.*)

Phil. II, § 3 uti te *H:* uit te ‖ § 5 interfectum me *Madvig* [Opusc. I. 207]: interfectum ‖ § 6 maledictis *Faërnus:* maledicti ‖ § 7 ex vita *H:* et uita ‖ multa loca ‖ § 8 diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris *H:* disserte mus et laetam esse uideris ‖ § 11 praeter te Publiumque Clodium *P. Richard Müller* (*Philologus* IX. 186): praeter te p. aut clodium ‖ § 12 M'. Glabrioni *Muret:* m. glabrioni ‖ § 19 quia, cum tantam *H:* quia tantam ‖ § 27 Tillius Cimber *Barbadorius:* . T. cimber ‖ § 28 quia sciebam *Graev.:* qui sciebam ‖ § 33 quom acc. *Ernesti:* quo accesserint ‖ § 35 illud fuit, ut dicebas quidem *H:* illud fuit tu ut dicebas quidem ‖ § 39 ne de iocis *Wesenberg:* ne totis ‖ § 41 aut certe *Faërnus:* aut (ut *pr. m.*) cere ‖ § 45 demitterere *Ferrarius:* dimitterere ‖ confirmavit *H:* confirmauiat ‖ §. 49 ad parentem tuam *Frotscher:* ad parentem tuum ‖ postea sum cultus *Muret:* potensesum cultus ‖ § 50 haurire *supplied by Faërnus* ‖ decus *Madvig* [Opusc. I. 166, II. 322]: dedecus ‖ § 55 nobis eripuit *H:* bonis eripuit ‖ belli *bracketed by H,* [*omitted by Madvig*]: ‖ § 56 Denticulum *Buecheler:* denticulam ‖ pro nihilost, ita *H:* pro nihilo si ita ‖ § 68 rostra *Orelli:* rostran spolia ‖ § 69 pro conclavibus popinae *H:* pro conclauibus popinae triclinis ‖ illam mimam suas res *H:* illam suam suas res ‖ § 73 prolatast *H:* prolatas ‖ § 75 an cum tu *Klotz:* an tutu ‖ § 76 Galliae e qua *H:* galliae qua ‖ § 77 illim *Lambin:*

illi non || § 78 habuisti *Ferrarius:* habuit || § 87 Sp. *before* Maelius *supplied by Schütz* || Maelius *Garatoni:* melius || § 88 de quibus Idibus Martiis *H:* de quibus matris || § 92 venibant *Heusinger:* ueniebant || § 93 a tuis *Faërnus:* a duis || § 94 gratiosus *Ubaldinus:* gratus || § 95 gynaeciost *H:* gynicaeo et || § 97 institores *Pantagathus:* immitatores || § 98 calamitate sunt *Faërnus:* calamitates at || § 99 cui metuisti *Madvig* [Opusc. I. 170 seq.]: cūmetuisti || § 100 placuerat ut Kal. *Muret:* placuerat Kal. || illinc abieris *Faërnus:* illim cauieris || § 106 dictu est; sed sum vicinus; *Madvig and H* (ed. 3): dictum sed cum uinus inter omnis || § 109 set potius *H:* est potius || § 110 inauguraris *H:* inauguraras || § 114 Romae licebat *Muret:* romate licebat || § 115 cum hac inmani nundinatione *A. Augustinus:* cum hac inmanum latione || § 117 boni exstitit *H. A. Koch:* bonis ē et || § 118 resipisce aliquando *Jeep:* respice ali. || uti voles *H:* utiles. [In ed. 3. § 52 potuisset *Madvig:* potuit.]

[PASSAGES IN WHICH MADVIG'S READING HAS BEEN PREFERRED TO HALM'S.

§ 7, p. 4, l. 1, magnae *M.* tam m. *H.* || § 9, p. 5, l. 2, scribam *M.* scribebam *V. H.* || l. 8, impetrasti *M:* impetras *V. H. who in ed.* 3 *reads* impetrasti. || § 11, p. 6, l. 4, domi *M:* domus *V. H.* || § 14, p. 7, l. 5, consul *M:* consul tum *H.* 'particula prave addita ad eam temporis notam quae est in ipso nomine *consulis*' (Madv.) || § 45, p. 19, l. 20, te *M:* se *V. H.* || § 49, l. 7, quoniam *Manutius M:* quamquam *H.* || p. 20, l. 25, Venisti *M:* venis *V. H.* || § 53, p. 22, l. 29, in *M:* om. *V. H.* || § 61, p. 25, l. 21, viam *M:* via *V. H.* || § 84, p. 35, l. 2, rhetoris *M:* r. sit *V. H.* || l. 3, ubi *M:* id est ubi *V. H.* || § 85, p. 35, l. 12, eumque *M.* e cod. Bern.: eum *V. H.* || § 87, p. 36, l. 4, est *added by M.* || § 91, p. 37, l. 24, proximum *V. M:* proximi *H. Muret.*]

[*ARGUMENT.* cc. I—III. §§ 1—5.

EXORDIUM. c. I.

c. I. § 1. For the last twenty years every enemy of the republic has been fain to declare war against me also; with what issue, the senate well knows. Yet their deserved doom has not deterred you, Antonius, from a more reckless venture: Catilina and Clodius would gladly have avoided me; you dare me to the encounter, knowing that there is no readier way to win the love of traitors. (§ 1. cf. § 2. p. 2. line 1). For what other motive can he have had? Not (1) contempt for his antagonist; my private character, my influence, my public services, my abilities, are scarcely such as Antonius can afford to slight. Nor (2) the prospect of a favourable audience; the senate which hailed me 'saviour of the country' offers no vantage ground to my detractors. Nor yet (3) the ambition of trying his strength with me as a speaker; else he would not give me such odds: what more can I desire than to speak for myself (c. II—XVII) and against Antonius? (c. XVIII—XLIV.)*

REPLY TO THE CALUMNIES OF ANTONIUS (c. II—XVII).

First charge. *Breach of friendship* †. (c. II—IV.) § 3. 'I once appeared in court against your interest.' i.e. for my friend Sicca against your minion the young freedman. Why rake up this story? unless to curry favour with the freedmen, who regard you as by marriage one of themselves. 'You resorted to my house for lessons in statesmanship.' False; Curio (c. 18) would not have given you up; your reputation might have gained, if he had. § 4. 'I owed my election as augur to your withdrawal.' No; when (B. C. 53) I was nominated by the two leading augurs in the name of the college, Curio, whose cutthroats afterwards (B. C. 50) carried your election, was in Asia, and you were bankrupt.

c. III. § 5. 'You saved my life at Brundisium,' (B.C. 48). No

* § 2: quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere? § 10: cum mihi et pro me aliquid et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint. Cf. § 43, and Aristot. Rhet. III. 14, § 7.

† § 3: Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, pauca dicam.

thanks to you, but to Cæsar's safe-conduct; or, if you did spare me, you cannot call me ungrateful, without branding Brutus too and Cassius, 'who we all know are honourable men,' as ingrates no less; for they also were spared by Cæsar. §§ 6, 7. However, where have I shewn ingratitude? 'In the 1st Philippic (Sept. 2.)' No, truly; I then blamed your measures, but did not touch your person. To-day you shall learn how much you owed to my forbearance.

IV. § 7. He also read a letter, as from me. § 8. Let the ill-breeding pass;—mark his folly.—Tiro and Mustela may applaud your eloquence (as I shall, if you procure their acquittal for this day's work of intimidating the senate); but how will all your eloquence confute me, if I disown the letter? Not by the handwriting; for it is a clerk's. O for a chance like your master's (the rhetorician Sext. Clodius, § 101), who earns estates by making a blockhead of his scholar! § 9. However the letter was mine; nor will I deny that it addressed you as a man of honour. I shall not retaliate by publishing that, in which you beg me to allow the recall of the other Sext. Clodius; § 10. a superfluous request, if he were already, as you say, included in a general pardon.

Second charge. *My consulship.* (B. C. 63. c. V—VIII.) § 10. Apology for disrespect to the consul Ant. (no true consul, in life, in policy, or in mode of appointment). § 11. You have declared your principles sufficiently, Ant., in censuring my consulship; a consulship directed by the senate, § 12, c. VI. § 13, approved by the chief consulars of that day, § 14, and among the rest by L. Cæsar; whose counsels you, his sister's son, then rejected for those of your step-father the traitor Lentulus; § 15, as now for those of parasites or pimps, whose birthdays you spend in feasting, careless of the delay of public business. c. VII. 'Your consulship heals the wounds which mine opened.' And this you say in that temple of Concord in which I consulted the senate's every wish, and which you are besetting with assassins! §§ 16, 17. 'I posted armed slaves on the ascent of the Capitol.' (5 Dec. A. U. 691 = 7 Feb. B. C. 62). Not slaves; every knight, every high-born youth but you, enlisted in defence of order. 'I denied the body of Lentulus for burial.' A falsehood too gross even for P. Clodius; § 18, but why remind us in what school you were bred a traitor? VIII. You confess the crime, for which I arrested Lentulus, but complain of his execution, i.e. you blame the senate's work, and praise mine. § 19. 'I posted an armed force on the ascent to the Capitol.' Yes, a force of citizens to guard that senate, which at this very moment is overawed by your barbarian bowmen. § 20. You are pleased to crack a jest upon my verses. 'Let arms yield to the gown.' Is it better that freedom should yield to your arms? Of my writings, however little they may be to your taste, I make bold to say, that

they have been serviceable to our youth, and no discredit to the Roman name.

Third charge. *The murder of P. Clodius.* (c. IX.) § 21. 'I tutored Milo to kill P. Clodius.' (18 Jan. A. U. 702 = 8 Dec. B. C. 53). What if you, Ant., had despatched Clodius, when you chased him through the forum with drawn sword? (B. C. 53). I cheered you on, I confess; you will scarcely say that I tutored you. § 22. If this charge were true, we should have heard it on Milo's trial. (March B. C. 52).

Fourth charge. *The civil war.* (c. IX, X.) § 23. 'I caused Pompeius' alienation from Cæsar, i.e. the civil war.' An error in dates still more than of fact. '*Distingue tempora.*' X. In Cæsar's consulship B.C. 59, I did warn Pompeius against him. But when Pompeius had married his daughter, further remonstrance was hopeless. § 24. Yet twice I did remonstrate; (1) against the prolongation of Cæsar's command, B.C. 55, (2) against his admission as a candidate for the consulship in his absence B. C. 52. But when a rupture was imminent, I never ceased to promote peace.

Fifth charge. *Cæsar's murder.* (15 Mar. 44. c. XI—XIV.) § 25. 'I planned Cæsar's murder.' Now you are playing into my hands, forcing upon me undeserved honours. For how could my name have been concealed till now? § 26. Did Brutus and Cassius need other suggestions than the example of their ancestors? § 27. Domitius had private wrongs to revenge; others were so bound to Cæsar that I could not have dared to sound them, if the plot had been mine. XII. § 28. 'Brutus raised his dagger, reeking with Cæsar's blood, and wished me joy, singling me out by name.' Yes; because I too as consul had saved the country. § 29. If it is a crime in me to rejoice at our deliverance, it is a crime of which no honest man is clear. § 30. Me you condemn on a mere suspicion of complicity; Brutus, whose hand dealt the blow, 'you wish to name with all respect.' Scatter the fumes of last night's debauch; and, by your consulship I conjure you, tell us plainly; are Brutus and the rest assassins or deliverers? XIII. § 31. If assassins, why 'honourable men;' why grant all their requests? You do not then hold them for assassins, if we may judge by your words and acts. §§ 32, 33. Consequently,—the reasoning is cogent, however the dilemma may bewilder you—you must hold them for liberators. Good; I deny the charge no longer; I will beg the conspirators to confirm it; I glory in being shut up, as in the Trojan horse, amid a company, where the least is a hero, whom to have seen is an epoch in any man's life. XIV. § 34. Yet if my *stilus* (dagger-pen) had indeed written that play, it would not have been sheathed after Act 1, the tyrant's fall,—but would in Act 5 have felled the tyranny in your person. What will you say, if

I retort your accusation? You discussed such a plot with Trebonius at Narbo (B. C. 45). § 35. You are the greatest gainer by Cæsar's death, for you inherit his power, § 36, and have cleared off your debts. Nay, do not be startled; no one will believe it of you; no one will give you credit for patriotism.

Lighter charges. (c. XV, XVI.) *My gloom and illtimed jests in Pompeius' camp.* (B. C. 48). § 37. I then tried to avert ruin by peaceful counsels. § 38. Pompeius would not bate one jot of dignity, I sought safety first, next dignity. But these differences never interrupted our friendship. § 39. On his flight from the field of Pharsalus Pompeius confessed that, if he had been the more sanguine, I had proved the truer prophet. And are you jealous for the memory of Pompeius against me his friend,—you who are living on his spoils? XVI. I may now and then have enlivened life in camp by a jest. § 40. Your censure of my melancholy and my mirth may prove that neither transgressed the mean. 'No friend ever remembered me in his will.' My books tell another tale. Not that I can boast *your* luck, for whom a perfect stranger, Rubrius, § 41, disinherited not only his brother's son, but also his declared heir, young Fufius. By as odd a whim L. Turselius discarded his brother in your favour. Other cases of spoliation I omit. § 42. Indeed, this is the last sarcasm I should have expected from you, whose own father left you not a sesterce.

Conclusion of defence. c. XVII. This then is the sum of your grand impeachment, the fruit of your many rehearsals in Scipio's villa! For this you became the butt of Sext. Clodius' wit! § 43. For this you repaid him by a grant of public land! Enough of reply*; it is time to examine our examiner.

CHARGES AGAINST ANTONIUS. (c. XVIII—XLIV.)

His early profligacy. (c. XVIII, XIX. §§ 44—47.) § 44. While yet a boy you became bankrupt, but still appeared among the knights, not on the seats assigned to bankrupts by the Roscian law. You disgraced the gown of manhood by prostituting your body to all comers; till young Curio outbid his rivals by the offer of a permanent settlement. §§ 45, 46. I persuaded the elder Curio to discharge a bond which the son had signed on your behalf, on condition that you never entered the house again. XIX. § 47. But modesty bids me veil your private life†. I will briefly touch on your public career before the civil war.

His life from B. C. 58—B. C. 49. (c. XIX, XX. §§ 48—50.)

* § 43: Iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt.

† § 47: iam stupra et flagitia omittamus;... reliquum vitae cursum videte, quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, ... et ad ea, quae cotidie facit, festinat animus.

You supported Clodius in his tribuneship (B. C. 58). You were with Gabinius (B. C. 55), when he illegally reinstated king Ptolemy Auletes. In B. C. 54, having no other home than a share of a villa at Misenum, you joined Cæsar in Gaul. XX. § 49. You came to Rome B. C. 53, as a candidate for the quæstorship, and I, at Cæsar's request, supported you. Then it was (§ 21) that you attempted the life of P. Clodius. § 50. On being elected, instead of waiting for the legal distribution of provinces, you at once returned to Cæsar, in the hope of sharing his plunder.

*His tribuneship**. (B. C. 49. c. XXI—XXIV. §§ 50—58.) I pass to the treasons of Ant. § 51. On New-year's day, A. U. 705 (= 13 Nov. B. C. 50) the senate proscribed you as an enemy, for obstructing its decree; § 52. a proscription brought upon you by your own obstinacy. § 53. You saved your life by flying (7 Jan. A. U. 705) to the camp of Cæsar, XXII, and so furnished him with the desired pretext for drawing the sword. §§ 54, 55. Posterity will hold you guilty of all the ensuing carnage and ruin. You are the Helen of our Troy. XXIII. § 56. You restored illegally many exiles (amongst the rest the notorious gambler Licinius Denticulus), and yet (*scelus in scelere*) had no mercy on your banished uncle C. Antonius. § 57. Then came your progress through Italy during Cæsar's absence in Spain. XXIV. § 58. Your mistress Cytheris, borne in an open litter among your lictors, received the homage of the country towns, while your neglected mother brought up the rear.

Antonius after the battle of Pharsalus. (9 Aug. A. U. 706 = 6 Jun. 48. c. XXIV, XXV. § 59—63.) §§ 59, 60. On your return to Brundisium you did not put me to death. A great kindness truly! Yet your affronts made it difficult to shew due gratitude. XXV. § 61. Cytheris came all the length of the Appian way to welcome you home. § 62. Again you made a progress through Italy, to the grievous loss of the people. Then (B.C. 48) while Cæsar was in Egypt you were named master of the horse. As such (ἵππαρχος) you were entitled to live with (the actor) *Hippias*, and to leave to Sergius (another actor) those appointments of the racecourse, which belong of right to senators. All this time you lived, like a robber, on your daily booty. § 63. After a surfeit at the marriage-feast of Hippias you were fain to vomit in full assembly.

Purchase of Pompeius' confiscated house in the Carinæ. (c. XXVI—XXVIII.) § 64. On Cæsar's return from Alexandrea (in the summer of B.C. 47) you did not fear to purchase the estate of Pompeius. XXVII. § 65. Then, like a character in a farce, 'yes-

* § 50: Accipite nunc, ... quae in nos fortunasque nostras impie ac nefarie fecerit.

terday a beggar, to-day a Crœsus,' § 66, in a few weeks you wasted all that ill-gotten wealth. § 67. There might be seen one incessant debauch, without stint or check. § 68. How can you cross that threshold, XXVIII, or see those trophies at the gate, and not be maddened with remorse? § 69. For me, I pity the very walls and roofs. But you have turned a new leaf. You have solemnly put away the actress; so far well; but what must we think of him, whose life can boast no more virtuous act than such a divorce? § 70. What then can you mean by that favourite phrase, '*both a consul and Antonius,*' if not 'both a consul and a debauchee'? But I return to your peculiar work, the civil war*.

Civil war in Africa and Spain. (B.C. 47—45. c. XXIX, XXX.) § 71. You hung back, while Cæsar fought in Africa, and were required on his return to pay for the house of Pompeius. § 72. In spite of your outcry, § 73, Cæsar was enforcing payment, when you advertised for sale the plate, furniture, and slaves; all grievously damaged while in your hands. § 74. On Rubrius' heirs (§ 40) forbidding the sale, you tried to rid yourself of Cæsar by an assassin's knife. On Cæsar's departure for Spain, you again lingered behind; so sturdy a gladiator might surely have been less impatient for discharge. XXX. § 75. You set out at last, but turned back, 'finding the roads dangerous.' Dolabella, however, could make his way to the field of Munda (17 Mar. B.C. 45), though he had not the private quarrel which you have with the heirs of Pompeius.

Antonius' return from Narbo. (B.C. 45. c. XXX, XXXI.) § 76. You asked how I returned the other day (31 Aug. 44). Not in the dark, as you did last year from Narbo; not in easy undress, but in the full Roman costume. XXXI. § 77. Merely for the pleasure of giving Fulvia a surprise, you startled the whole of Italy. § 78. This was one of the 'private affairs' which brought you to Rome; another was to save your securities from distraint.

ANTONIUS CONSUL. (B.C. 44. c. XXXII—end.)

Thwarts Dolabella's election. (c. XXXII, XXXIII.) On Cæsar's return (Sept. or Oct. 45) you became reconciled to him. § 79. He made you consul for the next year with himself, breaking his word to Dolabella, who thereupon bitterly denounced you (1 Jan. 44). § 80. On Cæsar's promising to retire, you threaten as augur to vitiate Dolabella's election, § 81, neither knowing that as augur you have less power of obstruction than as consul, nor scrupling to predict an informality long before the day of election. § 82. Not to dwell on your slavish deference to Cæsar, XXXIII, I come to the day of Dolabella's election. After the votes had been declared, § 83, you pronounced the proceedings

* § 70: ad ipsas tuas partes redeo, id est, ad civile bellum.

null and void, as you had threatened. § 84. And yet now you allow their validity.

Antonius offers Cæsar a diadem on the Lupercalia. (15 Feb. 44. c. XXXIV.) You change colour at the sound 'Lupercalia. Indeed if your eloquence can remove that slur, your liberality to Sext. Clodius is justified. § 85. When Cæsar pushed back the proferred diadem, § 86, you fell at his feet, entreating him to enslave us. A consul, you harangued the Roman people in the apron of a Lupercus. Your conscience, if not utterly seared, must bleed as I recall that scene; my words must prick you to the quick. § 87. You register in the calendar your offer and Cæsar's refusal. No wonder you hate law and order, which cannot consist with tyranny.

Antonius in Rome on and after the Ides of March. (15 Mar. 44. c. XXXV—XXXIX.) § 88. On the Ides of March Cæsar was to have opened the debate on the election. His death removed all your scruples about its legality.—His death;—after which you were spared, § 89, in spite of my warnings. On the third day (17 Mar.) I attended the meeting of the senate in the temple of Tellus, XXXVI. § 90, and lament your apostasy from the principles you then professed. Yet even then your fair words were belied by your funeral oration on the tyrant, § 91, and by your instigation of rioters; although to please the senate you abolished the dictatorship, and prohibited arbitrary immunities and acts of grace. § 92. Then suddenly your proclamations appear, bestowing immunities and the franchise on whole states. XXXVII. § 93. You embezzle the treasures in the temple of Ops, and in Cæsar's name sell privileges to all comers; even king Deiotarus, § 94, who in Cæsar's lifetime could never obtain common justice, is restored by the dead Cæsar, § 95, 96, for the king's envoys had bribed Fulvia; while their bolder master no sooner heard of the tyrant's death, than he recovered his throne by force of arms. XXXVIII. § 97. Your forged 'notes of Cæsar' were hawked about the streets like playbills. In Cæsar's name you decreed that from and after Brutus' departure Crete should cease to be a province; forgetting that while Cæsar lived Brutus had no connexion with Crete. § 98. You recalled the exiled convicts, and yet excepted three or four from pardon, as you had before (§ 56) excepted your uncle. You set up your uncle as a candidate for the censorship, § 99, and then withdrew him. You struck his name out of the commission for dividing lands. You divorced his daughter, after blasting her character by a charge of adultery with Dolabella (1 Jan. 44. cf. § 79). XXXIX. § 100. You neglected to convene the committee appointed to ascertain Cæsar's genuine acts (1 June 44).

Progress of Ant. through Campania. (End of Apr. to middle of May 44. c. XXXIX—XLII.) In the attempt to found a new

colony in Capua, you nearly lost your life. § 101. You assigned to your dissolute retainers Campanian and Leontine lands, so crippling the public revenues. XL. § 102. With much state you planted a colony at Casilinum, though warned that it would confuse auspices to settle two colonies in one place. § 103. You then took up your quarters in Varro's house at Casinum, which not even by right of confiscation could you claim as your own, § 104, as Cæsar had commanded you to restore it. XLI. § 105. That abode of learning you stained with riotous orgies, dismissing unseen the neighbours who came to greet their consul. § 106. With as lordly a disdain you repelled the homage of Aquinum and Anagnia. § 107. You roundly rated the Sidicini and men of Puteoli for choosing the liberators as their patrons. XLII. In your absence, Dolabella had rased the altar and pillar erected in honour of Cæsar. But you found means to curb the dangerous activity of your colleague.

Return of Ant. to Rome. (c. XLII.) § 108. You enter Rome at the head of your troops in order of battle. On 1 June 44 the senators durst not come together. § 109. Their absence did not prevent you from repealing the law limiting the tenure of proconsulships. You also rifled the 'people's park' beyond the Tiber of the statues and pictures bequeathed with it by Cæsar.

'Consecration' of Cæsar. (c. XLIII.) § 110. Divine honours have been voted to Cæsar, and you are his flamen. Why are you not consecrated? Yesterday (18 Sept.) was the 4th day of the *ludi Romani in circo*, to-day by your law (of 1 Sept.) is a 5th day of festival, in honour of Cæsar. Why is the feast not observed? § 111. I wait for your eloquent rejoinder. For even your grandfather, consummate orator as he was, was not so transparently clear as you; he never spoke so lightly clad as you at the Lupercalia.

PERORATION. (c. XLIV—end.)

Force put upon the senate by Antonius; threats of retaliation. (c. XLIV.) § 112. Why is the senate hemmed in with troops as I speak? To guard the consul? Better a thousand deaths than life so secured. § 113. The people will wrest those arms from your hands. Fulvia, your wife, has paid two instalments of her debt—(her former husbands, Clodius and Curio)—the third has long been due. The state can find worthier rulers when you are no more. § 114. Our deliverers may be absent, but their glory remains.

Call to repentance and amendment. (c. XLV, XLVI.) § 115. Remember the glory you won by abolishing the dictatorship. Or if glory cannot, let fear move you. § 116. You cannot trust your own followers; Cæsar was slain by those who owed him most. Not that you can bear comparison with him, XLVI. § 117, except in ambition. His tyranny at least taught us whom to trust, whom to fear. Now too we know the glory and profit of tyrannicide. § 118. Return then to the paths of honour. Reconcile yourself to your country. In the worst event, I who set at nought the arms of Catiline, will not quail before yours. § 119. Death will always find me prepared; I pray only that I may leave this people free, and that all may be recompensed, as they shall deserve of the commonwealth.]

NOTES.

c. I. § I. l. 2. *his annis viginti.* 'Within the last twenty years,' i.e. from Cicero's consulship B.C. 63 to B.C. 44, both years inclusive, according to the Roman reckoning. In § 119, (*abhinc annos prope viginti*), the difference of months is taken into account.

l. 3. *bellum indixerit:* p. Sulla, § 28: *cum mihi uni cum omnibus inprobis aeternum videam esse bellum susceptum.*

l. 5. *vobiscum* etc. So without *sed* p. Caelio, § 43: *ex quibus neminem mihi libet nominare: vosmet vobiscum recordamini.* Phil. II. § 15: *Cui? neminem nominabo: putate* etc.

l. 6. *illi.* Cf. line 11.

[*plus* etc. de Leg. II. §§ 43, 44: *Vidimus illos, qui, nisi odissent patriam, numquam inimici nobis fuissent . . . plus poenarum habeo quam petivi.* MAN. Cf. p. Mil. c. 13. § 33. HEUS.]

optarem, constructed like *vellem* (p. Sest. § 82: *quod ni esset patefactum paulo citius quam vellem*): 'than I would wish, if I still had the choice.'

te, Antoni. Intr. § 57. [Cf. Dio XLV. 47. ABR.]

l. 13. *ad.* Cf. ep. ad Att. VIII. 4. § 1: *Cui qui noster honos, quod obsequium, quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis commendatio defuit?* Liv. II. 10. § 11: *rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei.* —*inpios* § 50. I. § 30.

§ 2. l. 14. [*Quid putem*, etc. Quintil. XI. 1. § 25 seq.: *Verum eloquentiae ut indecora iactatio, ita nonnunquam concedenda fiducia est. Nam quis reprehendat haec?* Quid putem? . . . possit Antonius. *Et paulo post apertius:* An decertare . . . Antonium dicere.]

l. 19. *uni conservatae.* Cf. or. Catil. III. § 15. IV. § 20. Phil. XIV. § 24. [infr. § 13. So in a letter to Cato, ad Fam. XV. 4. § 11: *Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato, non, ut multis, re publica bene gesta, sed ut nemini, re publica conservata.* MAN.]

l. 21. *hoc q.* etc. He could not shew me a greater kindness.

l. 22. *quid uberius* sc. cuiquam.

P. 2. l. 1. *Illud profecto.* Certainly that is it; [I assigned the right motive for his conduct (§ 1. l. 13.)]

c. II. § 3. l. 6. *contra rem suam venisse*, sc. in iudicio aliquo. *v. s.* not *se*, because Cic. did not directly oppose Ant., but only appeared in a case in which he took an interest. On the expression cf. Phil. VIII. § 18: *cum suo magno esset beneficio, venisse cum contra se.* p. Rosc. Com. § 18: *Quid? tu, Saturi, qui contra hunc venis, existimas aliter?* p. Rosc. Am. § 147: *scis hunc nihil umquam contra rem tuam cogitasse* etc. The details of the case are unknown.

l. 7. *An*, in the refutation of an objection, cf. § 38 and Seyffert's Schol. Lat. § 53.

l. 8. *pro familiari*, Sicca. See ad Att. XVI. 11. § 1: [*De Sicca ita est, ut scribis. At st! aegre me tenui. Itaque perstringam sine ulla contumelia Siccae aut Septimiae; tantum, ut sciant παῖδες παίδων . . . cum ex Galli Fadii filia liberos habuisse . . . Atque utinam cum diem videam, cum ista oratio* (Phil. II.) *ita libere vagetur, ut etiam in Siccae domum introeat.*]

l. 8. *gratiam*, which Sicca's adversary enjoyed.

l. 10. *iniur. quam obt.*)(*ius suum contra aliquem obtinere.* [cf. Liv. XXIX. 1. § 17: *pertinaces ad obtinendam iniuriam.* Tac. H. II. 84: *obt. iniquitates. Obt.* is to maintain, uphold, carry through, etc. never 'to obtain' (*consequi*) 'quo sensu nemo bonus scriptor posuit,' says Madvig on Cic. de fin. II. § 71. See Cic. ad Q. fr. I. 1. § 35: *nos eam necessitatem, quae est nobis cum publicanis, obtinere et conservare patientur; i.e.* to secure and preserve our existing alliance. Liv. III. 36. § 9: *possessum semel obt. imperium*, where see Gronov. Cf. infr. §§ 48, 71, 109. Tac. Agric. 23.] *interc.* It is doubtful whether this refers to the official interposition of a tribune (who had no right to meddle with a private suit, such as this seems to have been, cf. *iure praetorio*), or merely to the mediation of some man of influence.

l. 12. *hoc*, contra rem tuam me venisse. *inf. ordini*=hominibus infimis, and esp. to the ordo libertinorum, to which the client of Antonius belonged.

l. 14. *liberos tuos*, 'children of yours.' Intr. n. 15. *Q. Fadii.* A gloss, otherwise it must have been joined with *lib. gen.* (Campe).

l. 15. *fuisse*, not *esse*, because according to Roman notions the death of Fadius had dissolved the tie. [Cic. p. Sest. § 6: *Ademit Albino soceri nomen mors filiae*, where see Halm's note. Add p. Cluent. § 41: *Dinaea testamentum faciente, cum tabulas prehendisset Oppianicus, qui gener eius fuisset.*] *At enim*, introduces a new objection of Antonius. [= ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία.] *in disc.* Cf. Hor. epist. II. 1. 103 seq. [After assuming the *toga virilis*, the young Roman attached himself to some experienced orator or statesman, with whom he attended the forum and courts of law.

Thus M. Cælius was *deductus a patre* to Cicero. (p. Cael. § 9). Tac. dial. 34: *Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat, hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat*, etc. Plin. ep. II. 14. § 3, Cic. Lael. § 1. ABR. Quintil. XII. 11. § 5: *Frequentabunt vero eius domum optimi iuvenes more veterum, et veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent.* Cf. ibid. X. 5. § 19. Cicero himself was committed by his father to the care of M. Pupius Piso (Ascon. in Pison. p. 15): *quod in eo et antiquae vitae similitudo et multae erant litterae.* Cic. off. I. § 122, II. § 46. Sen. ep. 4. § 2.]

[l. 17. *Ne.* Ritschl Proleg. ad Plaut. Trinum. p. XCVII. 'prorsus novicia affirmandi particula *nae* est quam constantissimo testimonio antiqui libri *ne* fuisse consentiunt.']

l. 19. *C. Curionem.* See c. 18.

§ 4. l. 20. *concessisse, i.e.* that you retired in my favour.

[l. 22. *expetitum.* ad Fam. XV. 4. § 13. MANUT.]

[l. 23. *Pompeius.* Cf. Phil. XIII. § 12: *in primis paternum auguratus locum, in quem ego eum,* (Sex. Pompeium), *ut quod a patre accepi, filio reddam, mea nominatione cooptabo.* ORELLI.] [*Q. Hortensius.* When Cic. on his return from Cilicia (Aug. B.C. 50) arrived at Rhodes, he heard of the death of Hort.; on which (Brut. § 1): *interitu talis auguris dignitatem nostri collegii deminutam dolebam; qua in cogitatione et cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, et inauguratum ab eodem.*]

nominaverunt. Two members of the college (consisting since Sulla of 15 augurs, to which number Cæsar added one) nominated probably three candidates, out of whom by the lex Domitia of B.C. 104, the new augur was elected at the comitia tributa (not by all 35 tribes, but by 17 determined by lot). Then followed the cooptatio by the college, at this time a mere form, and the inauguration. Cicero became augur B.C. 53, on the death of M. Crassus; Antonius B.C. 50. Intr. § 8.

[l. 24. *solvendo.* Priscian (XVIII. § 286), after quoting this passage, adds: *i.e. solvere debita non poteras.* Madvig, § 415. n. 1. Cf. *oneri ferendo esse.* Plin. hist. nat. XXI. § 96: *radix eius vescendo est decocta.*]

l. 26. *incolumem &c.* to escape bankruptcy. [Cf. p. Sest. § 18: *Alter . . . puteali et faeneratorum gregibus inflatus, . . se etiam invito senatu provinciam sperare dicebat; eamque nisi adeptus esset, se incolumem nullo modo fore arbitrabatur.*]

l. 27. *in Italia . . . non esset;* he was then proquæstor in Asia. [ad fam. II. 6. MANUT.]

l. 28. *sine Curione.* Intr. n. 28. [*ferre tribum,* 'to carry a tribe,' i.e. obtain its votes; so *ferre puncta* or *suffragia.* p. Planc. §§ 49, 53, 54; Hor. A. P. 343: *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*]

l. 29. *de vi,* on account of the riots at the election. The relative introduces the refutation as in § 27.

c. III. § 5. l. 32. [*semper* etc. § 59. I. § 11: *cui* (Ant.) *sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli.* Intr. § 15. Plut. Cic. 39.]

P. 3. l. 1. *minus prudenti:* for no *prudens* can regard it as a *beneficium.*

l. 2. *Sed* takes up the question *Quo?* (p. 2. l. 31). cf. § 8: *quid habes quod mihi opponas—sed quid opponas tandem* etc. I. § 23, II. § 80, Zumpt, § 739. [Cic. legg. II. § 2 Dumesnil.]

l. 5. *in Italiam* etc. Intr. n. 54.

[l. 6. *Fac p.* Suppose Cæsar had not restrained you. So § 60: *fac te dedisse.*]

[l. 7. *benef. latr.* Salvian. de Gubern. Dei, VIII. prope fin.: *Latrones quidem hoc proverbio uti solent, ut quibus non auferant vitam, dedisse se dicant.* Sen. de Ben. II. 12. § 1: *C. Caesar dedit vitam Pompeio Penno, si dat qui non aufert.* Cf. ib. c. 20. § 3 (of Brutus and Cæsar): etc. ABR.] [*ut.* Suet. Aug. 94: *Fuerunt qui interpretarentur, non aliud significare, quam ut is ordo, cuius insigne id esset, quandoque ei subiceretur.* HEUS.]

l. 9. *Quod si esset ben.*, to spare a man's life (p. Sull. § 72). In that case M. Brutus and Cassius and other τυραννοκτόνοι would be guilty of ingratitude, whom Cæsar spared after the battle of Pharsalus. To them was applied at Cæsar's funeral that verse of Pacuvius (Suet. Caes. 84): *men servasse, ut essent qui me perderent!* Cf. infr. § 116, [App. b. c. II. 146.]

l. 11. *clarissimos.* infr. § 30. I. § 6: *patriae liberatores,... quos... ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant.*

§ 6. l. 19. *At in illa querella, i.e.* the first Philippic. I refrained from personal reflections. [On the orthography of *querella* cf. Lachmann's canon on Lucr. III. 1014: 'habemus autem hic auctores non grammaticos verae rationis ignaros, sed eos libros e quibus orthographia vulgaris optime disci potest, Vergilium Mediceum, institutiones Gai, novum testamentum Fuldense a me editum, digesta Florentina. itaque *l* simplici scribuntur in quibus *e* litteram longa syllaba praecedit, ut *custodela clientela suadela candela sutela cautela tutela corruptela mandatela... acutela* ... *l* geminatur ubi prima brevis est: eaque a tertia ac simplici forma (*i. e. the 3rd conj.*) fecerunt veteres, ut *loquellam querellam sequellam luellam fugellam.*']

misera quidem. In this form *ille* is generally inserted before *quidem* (I. § 17, II. §§ 22, 66, 93, and in the 2nd person *tu quidem*

(II. §§ 23, 102, 107; cf. Madvig, § 480 b). Here the demonstrative *illa* was required before *querella*. [cf. § 59. l. 9.]

l. 25. *reliquias*, the public treasure. §§ 34, 93. Intr. § 40. Cf. I. § 17: *Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.*

l. 26. *domi tuae.* §§ 92, 95.

l. 28. *de te*, against the provisions of the lex Licinia et Aebutia (de leg. agr. II. § 21): '*quae non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas eius, cognatos, adfines excipit, ne eis ea potestas curatiove mandetur.*' On a violation of this law see Intr. n. 169. *a te*, i.e. not *ex actis Caesaris.*

auspicia augur, at the passing of the lex agraria and of that on the duration of provincial governments (Intr. § 53). See Phil. V. c. 3: *Quam legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse non modo tonante Iove, sed prope caelesti clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confiteri? Quid? quod cum eo collega tulit, quem ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere arbitratus est?* [Cf. infr. § 80 seq. Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 27 ad fin.]

l. 29. *intercessionem.* ibid. § 9: *sic vero erant disposita praesidia, ut, quo modo hostium aditus urbe prohibentur, ita castellis et operibus ab ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebis propulsari videres.* As consul Ant. was especially bound to uphold all constitutional powers.

l. 31. *inpudica* so cod. Vat. and Non. [and Madvig] for *pudica.*

§ 7. l. 32. *M. Crasso*, who fell in battle against the Parthians B.C. 53; with him Cicero, at the time when he paid court to Pompeius, lived on unfriendly terms. [Crassus was charged with complicity in Catiline's plot, and in Sallust's hearing (Catil. 48. § 9) attributed the affront to Cicero.]

P. 4. l. 2. *uno ... nequiss.* Zumpt, § 691. [infr. c. 34. § 84. Madvig, § 310. n. 2.]

[l. 4. *intellegat.* Ritschl Proleg. p. XCVII. 'Nec antiquitas vel *aequiparare* vel *intelligere* et *negligere* formas novit, sed in his *e* vocalem probavit solam.']

c. IV. l. 6. *At etiam.* On the emphatic *at* in transitions, cf. §§ 20, 43, 77, 86, 87, 97, 104. *litteras.* This letter is extant with that of Ant. ad Att. XIV. 13. A and B.

P. 4. l. 6. *diceret.* Zumpt, § 551. cf. infr. § 60: *quod... meminisset.* [Madvig, § 357 a. note 2. With the same negligence, with which we say, 'he went away, because he said it was late,' the Romans said, e.g. (Cic. ad fam. VII. 16. § 3): *Qui e Gallia veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent, te percunctantibus respondere,* = 'quod, ut dicunt, non respondeas,' de fin. I. § 4:

Quis enim tam inimicus paene nomini Romano est, qui Ennii Medeam aut Antiopam Pacuvii spernat aut reiciat, quod se isdem Euripidis fabulis delectari dicat? ibid. § 24: *Macedonum legatis accusantibus, quod pecunias praetorem in provincia cepisse arguerent.* p. Planc. § 82: *quem qui reprehendit in eo reprehendit, quod gratum praeter modum dicat esse.* p. domo sua, § 93: *hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius praedicare.* So also with the relative. Phaedr. I. 17. 2, 3: *Calumniator ab ove quum peteret lupus, | quem commendasse panem se contenderet.* Caes. bell. Gall. I. 39. § 3: *alius alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut sibi Caesaris voluntate discedere liceret.* See too Cic. ad Att. IV. 1. § 6.]

[l. 8. *qui.. modo.. nosset.* On this use of the conjunctive, esp. after *qui modo* and *qui quidem*, to imply a restriction, see Zumpt, § 559, Madvig, § 364. n. 2, Hand's Tursellinus III. 631. Cic. Brut. § 180: *omnium oratorum,... quos quidem ego cognoverim, solutissimum in dicendo et acutissimum iudico.. Q. Sertorium.* Tusc. disp. I. § 38: *Itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot saeculis; sed, quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes Syrius primus dixit,* etc. So *quod sciam, quod meminerim,* 'to the best of my knowledge (recollection).' Cf. infr. § 25. *Quantum* has in Cic. the ind. in this use; yet see Quintil. III. 1. § 19: *quantum ego quidem sciam.*]

l. 11. *Quid est aliud*, sc. *nisi hoc.* I. § 22: *Quid est aliud hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti.. cives velint esse?* V. § 5: *quid est aliud omnia ad bellum civile hosti arma largiri?* X. § 5: *quid est aliud librarium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?* We say: 'Is not this to —? What is this but —?' [de off. II. § 83, III. § 55, and more fully Cat. mai. § 5. WERNSD. Cf. in Pis. § 47, de fin. V. § 31, where Madvig says of our passage: 'si vera est codicum scriptura, manifestum est, *tollere* propter gravitatem orationis geminari et hanc esse sententiam: quid est aliud tollere e vita vitae societatem et amicorum conloquia, nisi hoc, quod tu facis, quum epistulas familiariter scriptas palam recitas.' Cf. the inversion of a comparison introduced by *tam* in Mart. IX. 68. 5.]

§ 8. l. 15. *Sit hoc*, he might have said *esto, sit hoc*, as § 30.

l. 17. *Tir. Must.* § 106 n. In Phil. XIII. § 3 they are called *conlusores et sodales* and *duces comitatus Antonii.* [v. § 18: *hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequebatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii.* Cf. VIII. § 26. HEUS.]

l. 18. *cum gladiis.* § 112 n.

l. 20. *inter sicarios*, i. e. in iudicio inter sicarios. The expressions *quaestio, iudicium inter sicarios,* (p. Rosc. Amer. § 11),

inter sicarios deferre, accusare, defendere, were adopted for want of a substantive to denote the act of assassination. [Hence we have (p. Cluent. § 147) *quaestio inter sicarios, qu. peculatus,* and *qu. de pecuniis repetundis,* corresponding to one another; and again (p. Rosc. Amer. § 90) *inter sicarios et de veneficiis accusabant.* The crime is expressed by a clumsy periphrasis, de invent. II. § 60: *eius maleficii, de quo inter sicarios quaeritur.*]

l. 23. *an.* § 99 n. *scientiam qu.* § 35. [§§ 97, 100, 109.]

[l. 24. *Qui.* Madvig, § 88. n. 2. *librarii.* Cf. ad Qu. fr. II. 16. § 1: *cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis, ne paullum me otii habuisse iudicato; cum autem mea, paullum.* GARAT. ad Att. VIII. 13. § 1: *Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus.* ibid. V. 14. § 1: *Antequam aliquo loco consedero, neque longas a me neque semper mea manu litteras exspectabis. Cum autem erit spatium, utrumque praestabo.* ibid. XV. 20 ad fin. Quintilian censures the *dictandi deliciae* (X. 3. § 18 seq. where see Gesner). Both the elder and younger Pliny constantly employed an amanuensis, (*librarius a manu, ab epistulis.* Cf. Hand Tursell. I. 59)].

l. 25. *magistro,* the rhetorician Sextus Clodius, c. 17, not to be confounded with Sex. Clodius the librarius and satelles of P. Clodius (*quendam,* § 9. p. 5. l. 6). *tanta mercede.* §§ 43, 101.

l. 26. *nihil sapere.* § 43. [*doceat.* conj. after *qui* causal, restored from Cod. Vat. Cf. Madv. Opusc. I. 205 n.]

§ 9. [l. 27. *non dico—sed.* §§ 19, 66, p. Milon. §§ 34, 35, Hand Tursell. III. 281. The same thing might have been expressed thus: *q. e. e. m. hominis, non modo oratoris* or *ne dicam oratoris?* Cf. Madvig, § 461. n. 2. Zumpt, § 724 *a.*]

l. 28. *quod ille* etc. i.e. according to our idiom, *quod sit eius modi, ut si adversarius id negarit, longius* etc. Cf. § 17: *qualis si qui nunc esset* etc. [Nägelsbach compares Cic. de or. I. § 126: *esse permulta, quae orator a natura nisi haberet, non multum a magistro adiuvaretur.* Translate, 'What is less worthy, I do not say of an orator but of a man, than to urge against an opponent an objection, such as, for the utter discomfiture of the objector, needs only to be met by a bare denial?' or 'such that a bare denial will suffice to nonplus ('gravel,' 'bring to a stand') the objector?' *verbum* like 'a word' is often used for 'a single word;' e.g. verbum *non amplius addam; accusator erit,* verbum *qui dixerit: hic est.*]

P. 5. l. 1. *Omne crimen.* Ant. had read Cicero's letter, as a proof of their intimacy a few months before. Cic. sent to Atticus (ad Att. XIV. 13) his own letter and that of Ant. with the remark: *M. Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione Sex. Clodii, quam honorifice quod ad me attinet ex ipsius litteris cognosces—misi enim tibi exemplum—, quam dissolute quamque ita*

perniciose, ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis. Quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. [Cf. ibid. 14. § 2.]

[l. 2. *exist.* 'I *express* a favourable opinion of you.' Macrob. Sat. II. 4. § 18: *Strabone in adulationem Caesaris male existimante de pervicacia Catonis, ait* (Caes.) etc. ABR. Cf. Casaub. ad Suet. Aug. 51.]

l. 6. *quendam.* See note on p. 4. l. 25. Sex. Clodius, the notorious 'satelles' of P. Clodius. On the trial of Milo (Ascon. argum. ad fin.) he was condemned by the lex Pompeia and had lived eight years in exile. Ant. in the letter here referred to (ad Att. XIV. 13. A. § 2) says of his recall: *a Caesare petii ut Sex. Clodium restitueret; impetravi. Erat mihi in animo etiam tum sic uti beneficio eius, si tu concessisses.* [Cf. ad Att. XIV. 14 and 19 cited below (note on § 34. p. 14. l. 31).]

[l. 8. *impetrasti.* ad Att. XIV. 19. § 2: *Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi voluptati magnae fore.*]

l. 9. *audaciae,* the *reductio* of a condemned criminal.

§ 10. l. 12. *Caesaris lege.* I. § 3: *unum aiebat,* sc. a Caesare restitutum esse.

c. V. [l. 18. *alterum ipse* etc. 'Quia magis in rebus versabitur oratio mea.' MANUT.]

l. 23. *ne ille quidem,* nor did he treat me etc. [*ne quidem* and οὐδὲ are often used where there is no gradation. So Cic. N. D. I. § 110: *deus vester nihil agens: expers virtutis igitur; ita ne beatus quidem.* ibid. § 113: *doceo deos vestros esse voluptatis expertes, ita vestro iudicio ne beatos quidem.* cf. ibid. II. § 87, III. §§ 23, 43, 68, orat. § 120, Brut. § 199. Plin. ep. VI. 15. § 1: *Mirificae rei non interfuisti: ne ego quidem,* 'you were not present, nor was I either.' See Madvig's excurs. III. ad Cic. de fin. p. 816, Halm on divin. in Caec. § 60.]

l. 25. *ita factus est, i.e.* by Cæsar's favour. § 79, Intr. § 24.

§ 11. P. 6. [l. 1. *Quis autem* etc. On the interlacing of the principal and dependent clauses Nägelsbach compares p. Balbo, § 61, (the subordinate clause is in italics): neque *me dissensioni meae pristinae* putavi *potius assentiri, quam praesentibus rei p. temporibus* convenire.]

l. 3. *tibi—manet,* 'is reserved *for* you.' So also in Gr. in this special sense (Eurip. ap. Stob. Flor. 124, 29): τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι κατθανεῖν μένει.

l. 4. *C. Curioni,* who as legatus of Cæsar, B. C. 49, fell in battle with P. Attius Varus and king Juba. Caes. b. civ. II. 23—44, esp. c. 42.

id, Fulvia. Intr. n. 14. *domi tuae.* § 113.

§ 12. [l. 6 seq. *placuit* etc. Cf. the list in ad Att. XII. 21. § 1.] *P. Servilius Vatia,* the famous *Isauricus,* cos. B. C. 79. He died B. C. 44 [hence *proxime,* l. 8] ὑπεργήρως, Dio XLV. 16.

l. 8. *Q. Lutatius Catulus,* cos. B. C. 78, †61. [He was princeps senatus, and addressed Cic. as *pater* and *parens patriae.* p. Sest. § 121 seq., in Pis. § 6.]

l. 10. *Luculli, Lucius* who fought against Mithridates, cos. 74, †56, and his brother *Marcus* cos. 73, celebrated for the wars on the Danube in which he was engaged as procos. of Macedonia; he died shortly after Lucius.

M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 73 and 55, †53 in battle with the Parthians. *Q. Hortensius,* the famous orator, cos. 69, †50. Cf. Brut. § 323: [*consulatusque meus, qui illum* (Hort.) *primo leviter perstrinxerat, idem nos rerum mearum gestarum, quas ille admirabatur, laude coniunxerat.*]

l. 11. *C. Scribonius Curio* (father of C. Curio, §§ 11, 45), cos. 76, obtained some successes in Thrace; a bitter opponent of Cæsar †52. [ad Att. I. 16. § 13: *Consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat.* ABR.]

C. Calpurnius Piso and *M'. Acilius Glabrio* coss. 67, and as such opponents of the lex Gabinia. Glabrio succeeded to L. Lucullus' command against Mithridates.

l. 12. *M'. Aemilius Lepidus* and *L. Volcatius Tullus,* coss. 66, *C. Marcius Figulus,* cos. 64, *C. Junius Silanus* and *L. Licinius Murena,* coss. 62.

l. 14. *M. Catoni,* who, though not a consular, is here mentioned, because on the nones of December 63, he as tribune elect carried the decree sentencing the conspirators to death. [See his speech in Sallust, c. 52.]

multa, where we say 'among many *other* evils, precluded this also.' Verr. IV. § 147: *cum multa, tum etiam hoc me memini dicere.* [Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. I. § 18. p. 39.] *prov.* by his suicide at Utica B. C. 46.

l. 17. *decedens ex Syria,* he saw Cic. when he still remained before Rome *cum imperio* B. C. 61, before his triumph for his Asiatic campaigns in September.

[Cic. de off. I. § 78: *mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicis laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.* MANUT.

In the year 63 Pompeius took Jerusalem, and did not arrive in Italy until the end of the following year.]

l. 22. *referret acceptam,* e. g. Crassus in the senate B. C. 61. ad Att. I. 14. § 3: *Crassus surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita diceret, se, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre; quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre.*

c. VI. § 13. l. 25. [*qui duo.* i. e. 'of whom two;' so *Samnites* (never *Samnitium*) *omnes,* 'all of the S.;' *qui omnes,* 'all of whom.' Zumpt, § 430, Madvig, § 284. n. 7. Liv. XXII. 16. § 7: *quos domitos indomitosque multos.* Curt. IV. 44. § 11: *ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus.* Cf. Madvig Emend. Livianae, p. 193.]

consularium illius temporis. § 12. l. 7. *L. Aurelius Cotta,* cos. 65, or. p. domo sua, § 68: *vir prudentissimus, et cum rei publicae, tum mihi, tum etiam veritati amicissimus.*

l. 27. *supplicationem—verbis ampl.* etc. or. in Catil. III. § 15: *supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, et his verbis decreta est,* 'quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem.'

[l. 30. *honos* and *lepos* are the common forms in Cic. Zumpt, § 59 *d,* Madvig, § 41. The Medicean Virgil has always *arbos* and *honos,* but *labor.* Cf. Lachmann ad Lucr. VI. 1260. Quintil. I. 4. § 13: *ut* Valesii *et* Fusii *in* Valerios Furiosque *venerunt; ita* arbos labos vapos *etiam et* clamos *ac* lases. Madvig (*Bemerkungen, etc.* p. 35 n.) affirms that nouns derived from verbs never end in *-os,* i. e. that *amos, pavos, torpos,* are barbarous forms; though *pavos* was long read without MS. authority in Cic. orat. § 155, and Quintil. allows *clamos.* During the 5th century U. C. *s* between two vowels was exchanged in many words for *r,* and the change in oblique cases generally occasioned a corresponding change in the nominative; monosyllables however for the most part retain the *s,* e. g. *mas, aes, glis, flos, rus;* cf. *Ceres, cinis, Ligus, decus, tellus.* The date of the change is indicated by Cic. ad fam. IX. 21. § 2: *L. Papirium Crassum* (cos. B. C. 336), *qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus.* See Corssen 'über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lat. Sprache. Leipz. 1858.' I. 85 seq.]

[l. 31. *nemini.* § 2. l. 19. p. Sull. § 85: *cui senatus singularibus verbis gratias egerit, cui uni togato supplicationem decreverit.*]

§ 14. *L. Iulius Caesar,* cos. B. C. 64, often commended by

Cic. for his conservative principles, I. § 27: *avunculi sui consulatum si imitaretur* (Ant.), *fortunatior videretur.*

P. 7. l. 1. *vitricum.* i. e. P. Lentulum. inf. §§ 17, 18. Intr. § 2. or. in Catil. IV. § 13: *Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit.* [Calenus in his invective against Cic. (Dio XLVI. 20) calls Lentulus ἄνδρα ἐπιεικῆ, whom ὁ καλὸς οὗτος Tullius cast into the dungeon (*Tullianum*) which bears his name.]

Hunc, of L. Cæsar as still living, without regard to *vitricum* immediately preceding.

l. 3. *te similem maluisti,* as § 19, *cupit se audacem.* de orat. II. § 246: *ut iste, qui se vult dicacem et me hercule est, Appius.* [cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. II. § 102. p. 316.]

[l. 7. *scilicet,* our colloquial 'why,' 'to be sure;' very frequent after questions. ad Att. VII. I. § 4: *Quis? Tu ipse scilicet.* See Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 73 seq. So *nempe.* Juv. X. 185: *Sed qualis rediit?* nempe *una nave.*]

§ 15. l. 8. *descendit* in forum.

[l. 9. *nat.*, i. e. cenam. A birthday debauch was proverbial. Juv. V. 37, XI. 85, XII. 1. Sen. de ir. II. 33. § 4: *potiones vix honestas natalibus liberorum.* Faern. refers to the account of one in Gell. XIX. 9. Cf. Plut. Brut. 24.—The dictionaries follow no consistent rule in the orthography or quantity of adjectives of this form (*natalicius*). They should always be written with a *c*; cf. *civīcus, patrīcius; amīcus, commentīcius.* When derived from verbs the antepenultimate is long; when from nouns, short (except *novīcius*). *nutrīcius* is of different formation.—*hortis.* § 68.]

l. 10. *putate.* § 1: *recordamini.* n.

Ph., Gn. parasites in the Phormio and Eunuchus of Terence.

l. 11. *Ball.* a pimp in the Pseudulus of Plautus. or. p. Rosc. Com. § 20: *Ballionem illum inprobissimum et periurissimum lenonem cum agit* (Roscius), *agit Chaeream.*

c. VII. l. 16. *Tuus,* etc. resuming, cf. § 12. l. 6 seq.

[l. 17. *pudorem cum pudicitia.* or. in Catil. II. § 25: *Ex hac parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum.* See Bake on Cic. de leg. I. § 50. Lob. ad Soph. Aj. p. 138.]

l. 18. *templo.* § 19. [The senate always met in a *templum, i. e.* not necessarily an *aedes sacra,* but a place marked out and consecrated by the rules of augural science. Beside the *curia Hostilia* the temples of the forum and Capitol were employed, esp. *templum Concordiae,* near the *carcer,* between the forum and Capitol. It was dedicated by Camillus B. C. 367, restored by Tiberius, and in the 3rd cent. A. D. is called *curia.* Lamprid. Alex. 6: *quum senatus frequens in curiam, hoc est in aedem Concordiae templum inauguratum, convenisset.* Becker H. d. r. A. I. 312, II. pt. 2. 414. Sall. Catil. 46. §§ 5, 6: *Consul* (*i. e.* Cicero) *Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire iubet. Eo senatum advocat.* Cf. or. in Catil. III. § 21, p. Sest. § 26. (Ant. summoned the senate to the temple of Tellus. infr. § 89.).]

l. 21. *gladiis.* § 19

§ 16. [l. 23. *clivum Cap.* § 19. l. 29. n. On the nones (5th) Dec. 63, the knights occupied the ascent to the Capitol, in order to guard the senators who were met in the temple of Concord. Cic. p. Sest. § 28, p. red. in sen. §§ 12, 32, Sall. Catil. 49. § 4. Atticus was active among the foremost, ad Att. II. I. § 7: *equitatus ille quem ego in clivo Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram.*]

servorum, i. e. the knights, as Cicero's vassals.

[l. 24. *credo,* ironical, as §§ 26, 99.]

l. 26. *O miser,* as Phil. XIII. § 34: *o miser cum re, tum hoc ipso, quod non sentis quam miser sis!* The more usual form occurs below, § 54: *O miserum te, si haec intellegis, miseriorem, si non intellegis!*

[l. 29. *adulescens.* On the orthography cf. Ritschl, Proleg. p. XCV. 'certissimo autem consilio (*u* tuitus sum) in *adulescens,* cuius vicariam *adolescens* formam vix umquam boni libri sine discrepantia agnoscunt.']

nobilis, p. Mil. § 40. [quoted below on § 21.] *ullius ordinis.* or. in Catil. IV. § 14: *Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique aetatum.* Cic. then enumerates, *equites, tribuni aerarii, scribae* (cf. below l. 32), *omnis ingenuorum multitudo, libertini.* [On the construction *qui—meminisset,* cf. § 7. l. 8. *qui nosset.*]

[l. 30. *hoc templo.* § 15. l. 18.]

[l. 31. *nomen non dedit.* Cic. directed the prætors to 'swear in' the well affected citizens. Dio XXXVII. 35.]

l. 32. *quamquam* etc. = quamquam omnes, qui voluerunt, ne dederunt quidem, quia nec scribae, etc.

[*scribae.* From this mention of *scribae in clivo Capitolino,* Becker H. d. r. A. I. 318, concludes that the *schola Xantha* once belonged to the *Aerarium.*]

§ 17. [P. 8. l. 2. *consciorum.* The Allobroges and Volturcius; the design, as confessed by V., was (or. in Catil. III. § 8): *ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descrip-*

tum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille (Catil.).]

[l. 3. *sua manu. manus* (cf. § 8) like χείρ and 'hand'=hand-writing. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius acknowledged themselves the authors of the letters to the senate and people of the Allobroges read in the temple of Concord, Dec. 3. or. in Catil. III. §§ 4—13. Sall. 44, 45. § 4, 47. Cic. dispersed throughout Italy and the provinces copies of these letters and of that of Lentulus to Catilina. p. Sull. c. 15.]

[*paene*, evidently modifies *voce*. So de leg. II. § 4: *incunabula paene mea;* Verr. v. § 110, p. Planc. § 65, and Cat. mai. § 49; though Madvig (on Cic. de fin. I. § 4) says, 'non memini ubi Cic. *paene* post vocem primariam posuerit.' Below, §§ 39, 100, 102, *paene* does come first.]

l. 5. *se consensisse*, 'that is, that they had conspired,' inf. exegeticus to *de patriae parr. conf.*

[l. 8. *qualis si qui nunc esset.* Cf. § 6. l. 23, § 9 n., § 41, § 37. l. 15: *qui si viverent.* So de fin. III. § 9: *infici debet puer iis artibus, quas si, dum est tener, conbiberit, ad maiora veniet paratior.* ad fam. IX. 14: *tantum vales apud Dolabellam, quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus.* KRUEGER. The concurrence of two relatives, or of a relative and conjunction, in one clause is foreign to our idiom. Translate, 'indeed even now it is only their want of such a leader, that has saved you from the fate of those conspirators.']

[l. 9. *accidit contigisset. Accido* denotes any casual and unforeseen occurrence; like our word 'accident' it is commonly used of misfortunes; e. g. *si quid acciderit*, 'if anything shall happen to him.' *Contingo*, properly 'to meet,' denotes some connexion between the occurrence and the person, so that the one fits (προσήκει) the other; so here 'you would have met your deserts;' hence it is commonly used in a good sense. cf. Juv. VIII. 28, and esp. Sen. epist. 110. § 3: *scis plura mala contingere nobis quam accidere* ('misfortunes are oftener a blessing than a curse'). *quoties enim felicitatis causa et initium fuit quod calamitas vocabatur. Evenire* denotes 'the coming into being, the issue, upshot,' etc., i. e. it presupposes expectation and preparation. See Seyffert ad Lael. pp. 39, 40. *Contingit* is used *in malam partem*, as here, also de orat. II. § 15: *magis id facilitate quam ulla alia culpa mea contigit.*] *vitrici.* [§ 14. p. 7. l. 1.] Plut. (Ant. 2) adds: 'Ant. said that the body of Lentulus was not given up for burial until his mother (Julia, wife of Lent.) begged it of Cicero's wife (Terentia). An evident falsehood; for none of those executed by Cic. was debarred from interment.' [Cf. Juv. x. 286 seq.]

[l. 10. *negat.* On the change of person, cf. l. 25, and § 41. p. 18. l. 3. *invasit.*]

l. 11. *quem.... superatum*, so the Vulgata; but as the MSS. have *eum* after *vitiis*, Stürenburg's emendation *cui quia iure inimicus fui, d. a te o. v. eum esse s.* is highly probable, esp. as this is the usual construction in Latin. So Verr. v. § 45: *qui si quo proficisceris.* [supr. l. 8 n. Our English construction is sometimes found, *e. g.* Cat. maior. § 13: *qui, cum ex eo quaereretur.* ad fam. VI. 4. § 2: *quae tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est.* NAEGELSB. See Addenda, p. 160.]

§ 18. [l. 13. *Qui.* § 8. l. 24 n.]

l. 14. *domi P. Lentuli*, who, after having been cos. B.C. 71, was ejected from the senate by the censors L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Lentulus Clodianus on account of his dissolute life (ἀσέλγεια says Plut. Cic. 17). [On the construction see Madvig, § 296 b. n. 1. cf. 233. Similarly *domi alienae esse, domum regiam venire*, etc.]

c. VIII. [l. 17. *excors.* Tusc. disp. I. § 18: *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur; ex quo* excordes vecordes concordes*que dicuntur, et Nasica ille prudens,..* Corculum, *et* 'Egregie *cordatus* homo, Catus Aeliu' Sextus.' So *cor habere* in Plautus.]

l. 18. *cum* has probably dropped out before *non modo.* [Madvig reads *ut non modo.*]

[l. 20. *tibi tecum. Tibi* is reserved for this place for the sake of the juxtaposition: 'the struggle lies between you and yourself.' Else it would have followed *tanta.* In general pronouns exert an attractive force upon one another; cf. *mea me, tibi te* &c.]

l. 21. *in.* p. Sull. § 38: *si hic esset in eodem scelere.*

l. 26. *quem contra.* Zumpt, § 324. [Madvig, § 469. n. 1. The disyllabic prepositions *contra inter propter* are frequently placed after pronouns (without a substantive). Cf. Cic. N. D. II. § 10: *quos ad.* Tusc. disp. II. § 15: *hunc post.* See Madvig on Cic. de fin. IV. § 42. Sometimes even after substantives. Ruhnk. on Vell. II. 91. § 2.]

§ 19. [l. 27. *non dico..sed.* § 9.]

l. 28. *cupit se audacem.* § 14. l. 4. [Cic. de opt. gen. orat. § 15: *qui se Atticos volunt.* de fin. v. § 13: *Strato physicum se voluit.* NAEGELSB. On the form of the sentence cf. in Vatin. § 19: *in illo tuo intolerabili non regno—nam cupis id audire—, sed latrocinio.* ABR.]

[l. 29. *clivi Cap.* § 16 n. The road leading up to the temple of Iuppiter, by which the triumphal processions ascended to the Capitol.]

l. 31. *armati.* § 112 n. [*cella Concordiae.* § 15. l. 18 n. Phil. III. § 30: *armatos in cella Concordiae, cum senatum haberet, incluserit.* On the *cella* of a temple as a place of meeting for the

senate cf. Prudent. c. Symm. I. 573: *Respice ad inlustrem, lux est ubi publica, cellam.*]

P. 9. [l. 2. *equestr. ord.* § 16. l. 23 n.]

l. 3. *copulatus.* There was an old feud between the senate and the knights respecting the *iudicia.* or. in Catil. IV. § 15: *Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit* etc. Cf. ad Att. I. 14. §4. [*fuit.* Addenda, p. 160.]

[l. 4. *dum.* Madvig, § 351 b. n. 2. *confiteare.* The form in *re* is in Cic. the usual one, except in the ind. pres. in which it was liable to be confounded with the inf. act.; 9 or 10 exx. are however cited of the ind. pres. (Below § 110 Halm has restored *inaugураris*). In the 4th conj. this termination is rare. It was antiquated in Quintilian's time, I. 5. § 42: *fuerunt, qui nobis quoque adicerent dualem,* scripsere legere: *quod evitandae asperitatis gratia mollitum est, ut apud veteres pro 'male mereris' 'male merere.'*]

l. 5. *Ityraei,* a warlike people (κακοῦργοι πάντες Strabo) the modern Druses, whom Pompeius reduced in his Syrian campaign. [B.C. 64. Ant. would have made acquaintance with them when in Syria. Intr. § 5.] Since then they appear in the armies of the republic and emperors as archers; so first mentioned bell. Afric. c. 20: Phil. V. § 18: *certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii.* [Virg. G. II. 448: *Ityraeos taxi torquentur in arcus.* They often occur in inscriptions.]

[l. 7. *cum.* supplied by Halm. Madvig (Opusc. I. 204, 205, and in his ed.) reads *sed quia tantam ... vides. Nihil* etc.]

[l. 7. *rerum repugnantiam.* In Lat. many substantives must be defined by an object, which in Engl. are used absolutely. Thus we should translate here, 'because you do not see the gross contradiction.' So Quintil. VIII. 6. § 50: *inconsequentia rerum,* 'inconsequence.' So often *causae rerum* 'causes;' *animi* (gen.) is similarly employed. NAEGELSB.]

[l. 8. *nihil sapis.* § 8. l. 26.]

§ 20. l. 13. *a mima uxore, i. e.* his mistress Cytheris; §§ 58. 61, 62, 77. ad Att. X. 10. § 5: *hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem: septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum; eae sunt amicorum.*

Cedant arma togae. From Cicero's epic *de temporibus suis;* ep. ad Fam. I. 9. § 23: *Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis, quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem; .... sed quia verebar non eos, qui se laesos arbitrarentur (etenim id feci parce et molliter), sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene*

de me meritos omnes nominare. Cf. de off. I. § 77: *Illud autem optimum est, in quod invadi solere ab inprobis et invidis audio: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.' Ut enim alios omittam, nobis rem p. gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesserunt? Neque enim periculum in re publica fuit gravius umquam nec maius otium.* Cicero (or. in Pis. § 73) gives the words the meaning '*bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurum;*' but the remainder of the verse and the passage in the de off. shew the true interpretation, 'military merit must vail to civil.' Cf. Cassius ad Cic. (ep. ad fam. XII. 13. § 1): *Fatale nescio quid tuae virtuti datum, id quod saepe iam experti sumus; est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior.* [Plut. (comp. Dem. c. Cic. 2) renders *laudi* τῇ γλώττῃ.—Cicero quotes the third book of his poem (ad Att. II. 3. § 3). It was written B.C. 60.]

[l. 14. *nonne.* On the position cf. Acad. II. § 86: *Quid? hoc nonne videtur* etc? p. Sest. § 47.]

[l. 18. *versibus.* Cf. Juv. X. 123 seq. (at the back of the title page). Quintil. XI. 1. § 24: *In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni,* 'Cedant arma' etc. *et* 'O fortunatam' etc.]

l. 20. *defuisse.* Ant. seems to have suggested that Cic. might spend his time more profitably than in writing doggrel.

[l. 21. *omni genere.* Calenus (invective against Cic. in Dio XLVI. 23): 'he pretends to be a rhetorician, poet, orator, philosopher and historian.' ABR.]

monim. i. e. writings, as keeping up the memory of the author.

[l. 22. *iuventuti.* ad Att. II. 1. § 3: *oratiunculas autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adulescentulorum studiis excitati, te etiam delectant.* Cf. p. Sest. § 14. with Halm's n. de fin. I. § 10 seq. Tusc. I. § 5 seq. de divin. II. c. 2, Plut. Cic. 40. Quintil. XII. 11 § 5 sq.]

l. 23. *nomini R.* Cf. Vell. Pat. II. 34. § 3: *M. Cicero — ut vita clarus ita ingenio maximus, qui effecit ne, quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur.*

c. IX. § 21. l. 26. *si tum occisus.* § 49. Intr. § 6.

[l. 29. *scalas.* Only used in the plur. Varr. L. L. IX. § 69: scalae *quod ab scandendo dicantur et singulos gradus* scanderent, *magis erat quaerendum, si appellassent singulari vocabulo* scalam, *cum origo nominatus ostenderet contra.* Cf. ibid. §§ 63, 68, X. § 54, Quintil. I. 5. § 16. Under the stairs was a common hiding-place. Thus Cic. in Cornel. ap. Schol. Juv. V. 118: *correpsit in scalas.* Hor. epist. II. 2. 14, 15 of a slave: *semel hic cessavit et, ut fit, | in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae.* So in Cic. p. Mil. § 40, where he describes the same scene as here: *Nuper vero cum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset,*

gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime suscepisset, atque illam beluam, iudicii laqueos declinantem, iam irretitam teneret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, di immortales, fuit! cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem, Antonii vero maxima gloria.]

[*tabernae.* Hor. S. I. 4. 71: *nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.* Part of the ground-floor of a house was often let for a shop with the garret (*cenaculum*) as residence for the shopman, who went up to it by *scalae.* Thus in an advertisement of rooms to let at Pompeii (Orell. 4323) TABERNAE PERGULAE COENACULA. (cf. no. 7201). In another inscription we find what seems to mean *repositiones subscalares* (ib. 4331).]

[*librariae.* The bookshop of the brothers Sosii was in the *vicus Tuscus* and at the Ianus (Hor. Ep. I. 20. 2, A. P. 345). In Martial's time (I. 118) the *Argiletum* was the Paternoster Row of Rome; in the times of Galen and of Gellius (XVIII. 4) the *vicus Sandaliarius: in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus; cum ibi in multorum hominum coetu Apollinaris Sulpicius, vir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctus, iactatorem quempiam et venditatorem Sallustianae lectionis irrisit.* Martial's bookseller (IV. 72, XIII. 3) Tryphon, to whom Quintilian dedicates his Inst., must have been a man of no mean acquirements.]

l. 30. *Quod favisse = plausisse.* The word *favor* was new at this time: p. Sest. § 115: *ei.. qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquuntur, favore populi tenetur et ducitur, plausum immortalitatem, sibilum mortem videri necesse est.* Quintil. VIII. 3. § 34: Favorem *et* urbanum *Cicero nova credit. Nam et in epistula ad Brutum,* 'Eum,' *inquit,* 'amorem et eum (ut hoc verbo utar) favorem in consilium advocabo.' cf. § 29. [On the use of the acc. neut. of pronouns with intransitive verbs see Madvig, § 229, and on Cic. de fin. I. § 14. p. 33. Zumpt, § 385. Cic. p. Sest. § 10. Heind. ad Plat. Phaed. § 21. Ovid. epist. 6. 3, 4: *hoc tamen ipsum | debueram scripto certior esse tuo.* Translate, 'that in that (your chase of Clodius) I cheered you on (wished you success, 'backed' you), I do not deny; that I advised it, you do not yourself assert. But to Milo I could not so much as wish success, for he dispatched the business before any one had the least inkling of it.'See p. 160.]

P. 10. l. 2. *At*=at, inquies: Seyffert Schol. Lat. § 60. 1.

l. 4. *laetitia.* Cf. the ironical picture p. Mil. § 20: *P. Clodii mortem nemo aequo animo ferre potest. Luget senatus, maeret equester ordo,* etc., but in § 21: *in communi omnium laetitia.*

§ 22. l. 5. *Quamquam* etc. However there was an investigation concerning the death of C.—whether wisely conducted or not, is not the point;—and the *suasor facti,* if there were one, must have been named; I was not named.

[l. 7. *illa quidem.* § 6. l. 19. n. cf. *tu quidem.* § 23. l. 15.]

l. 8. *nova lege,* i. e. by the *lex Pompeia de vi,* B.C. 52. On the 3rd day after his creation as sole consul (Ascon. arg. in or. p. Mil. § 15), Pompeius, *de legibus novis ferendis rettulit; duas ex S. C. promulgavit, alteram de vi, qua nominatim caedem in Appia via factam et incendium curiae et domum M. Lepidi interregis oppugnatam comprehendit, alteram de ambitu; poenam graviorem et formam iudiciorum breviorem: utraque enim lex prius testes dari, deinde uno die atque eodem et ab accusatore et ab reo perorari iubebat, ita ut duae horae accusatori, tres reo darentur.* Cic. p. Mil. § 15: *Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua et de re et de causa iudicavit; tulit enim de caede, quae in Appia via facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus esset. Quid ergo tulit? nempe ut quaereretur.*

l. 9. *legibus.* p. Mil. § 13: *Hanc vero quaestionem, etsi non est iniqua, numquam tamen senatus constituendam putavit. Erant enim leges, erant quaestiones vel de caede vel de vi; nec tantum maerorem ac luctum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quaestio constitueretur.* Milo might have been accused by the *lex Cornelia de sicariis* or the *lex Plautia de vi.*

l. 10. *nemo.* Yet Cic. says (p. Mil. § 47): *scitis, iudices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu caedem esse factam, consilio vero maioris alicuius... Respiravi, liberatus sum; non vereor, ne, quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitasse.* Asconius (ad loc.): *Q. Pompeius Rufus et C. Sallustius tribuni fuerunt, quos significat.* [The same charge made by Calenus ap. Dion. XLVI. 2.]

c. x. § 23. l. 15. *M. Bibulus,* cos. B.C. 59, in which year Cæsar, then also cos. for the first time, gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompeius. [Bibulus, from whom Cic. names the year 59, was so impotent to oppose Cæsar's democratic measures, that the wags spoke of the year as the consulship of Gaius Cæsar and Iulius Cæsar (Dio XXXVIII. 8) or of Iulius and Cæsar (Suet. 20, who has preserved the epigram: *Non Bibulo quiddam nuper, sed Caesare factum est, | nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini*). ABR.]

[l. 17. *quantum—potui.* cf. § 7. l. 8. *qui modo* etc.]

l. 18. *facere enitique,* cf. div. in Caec. § 26, *in quo quid eniti aut quid efficere possim.*)(Phil. IV. § 16: *quantum cura niti atque efficere possum.*

a Caesaris coniunctione. Cf. de prov. cons. § 38: *ab huius ordinis coniunctione.* in Cat. IV. § 15: *ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis, i.e.* with this order. [ep. ad fam. III. 10. § 9: *hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi coniunctio.* ib. ep. 4. § 2:

coniunctiones necessariorum tuorum. MADVIG ad Cic. de fin. V. § 71. See in Pis. § 76: *sua coni.* Cf. l. 20. *mea fam.*]

§ 24. [l. 23. *Duo tempora.* Cf. ad Att. VII. 3. § 4 (written a. d. 8 Id. Dec. A. U. 704): *Cur imperium illi* (Caes.) *aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? cur tantopere pugnatum est, ut de eius absentis ratione habenda decem tribuni pl. ferrent? His ille rebus ita convaluit, ut nunc in uno cive* (Pomp.) *spes ad resistendum sit, qui mallem tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisteret.* ABR. Cf. ib. VII. 6. § 2, VIII. 3. § 3.]

l. 25. *quinquennii*=quinquennale, which Cæsar had received by the *lex Vatinia* of B.C. 59. In B.C. 55 the coss. Pompeius and Crassus, according to their agreement with Cæsar at Luca, proposed and carried an extension of his imperium in hither and further Gaul for another term of 5 years. [*quinq. imp. pror.* i.e. 'to prolong C.'s imperium *for* 5 years,' lit. 'to propose a further 5 years' imp.;' not 'to extend his *former* 5 years' imp.' (Nägelsbach). Cf. infr. § 74: *paucis tibi prorogatis diebus;* i.e. 'allowing you a few days' respite.']

l. 27. *ferri* etc. The lex *ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur* was carried by M. Cælius as trib. pl. 52, with the consent of Pompeius. If Cic. dissuaded Pompeius, he must have played the hypocrite; for he says himself ep. ad Att. VII. 1. § 4: *Nam ut illi hoc liceret* (sc. ut Caesar absens consulatum peteret) *adiuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. Ab ipso autem? etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu.* [In early times consuls etc. were often elected in their absence; e.g. in the 7th cent. U.C. Marius and Lucullus. Cic. too in his consulship (de leg. agr. II. § 24) says that no candidates for office need appear in person. Yet 3 years later (B.C. 60) Cæsar was on the point of foregoing a triumph in order to satisfy the law by which absentees were disqualified. In B.C. 52, at the time of which Cic. here speaks, the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum* contained a clause (Suet. Caes. 28) '*quo a petitione honorum absentes submovebat.*' Pomp. added an exception in Cæsar's favour after the law had been deposited in the *aerarium.* Becker, III. 2. 47 seq.]

P. 11. [l. 1. *compositionis.* Brut. § 266, p. Ligar. § 28. Cæsar's terms, B.C. 49, (ad Fam. XVI. 12. § 3) were that Pomp. should go to Spain and disband his levies; that he should himself resign his imperium in the Gauls and sue for the consulship in person. Cf. ib. VI. 6. §§ 5, 6: 'I urged Pomp. to go to Spain, and to allow *Caesaris absentis rationem haberi . . . cum vel iniquissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem . . . Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me.*' ib. § 7, Cic. calls himself *augur publicus.* See too ib. IV. 14. § 2.]

l. 2. *utinam* etc. ep. ad Fam. VI. 6. § 4: *plurimi sunt testes me et initio ne coniungeret se cum Caesare monuisse Pompeium et postea ne se seiungeret: coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.*

[l. 3. *coisses.* Priscian VIII. § 27, cites this as an 'active' use. *Coire* very frequently (e.g. in the jurists) takes the acc. of this word *soc.;* thus Cic. N.D. II. § 123: *Pina vero . . . cum parva squilla quasi societatem coit comparandi cibi.* See Zumpt, § 386. Madvig, § 224 b. *Coire soc.*=*coëundo soc. efficere;* just as *ludere carmina*=*ludendo carmina componere.*]

l. 4. *gravitatis, alterum* wanting in Cod. Vat. 1st hand.

[l. 6. *quae si* etc. § 37.]

c. XI. § 25. l. 9. [*Sed haec* etc. on the omission of *sunt* cf. § 29. l. 32. Madvig, § 479, Seyffert on Cic. Lael. p. 78.]

l. 10. *meo cons. int.* On the motive for this accusation, see Intr. n. 219.

l. 11. *praev.* Antonius.

[l. 13. *alienis.* So Halm and Madvig from cod. Vat.; other MSS. read *oneraret alienis,* which reading Orelli (Cic. oratt. XV. Turici 1836) thus defended, 'immeritae laudes et alienae reapse *oneri* sunt, non *ornamento,*' referring to Zumpt (ad Verr. p. 661) for exx. of *annominatio* or verbal allusion in Cic. Zumpt quotes Cic. N.D. I. § 17 (*adiutorem—auditorem*), or. Phil. III. § 22 (*ex oratore arator*), etc., and refers to Quintil. IX. 3. § 65 seq., ad Herenn. IV. § 29 seq., Rutil. Lup. I. § 3 (where Ruhnk. illustrates the example '*non* honori, *sed* oneri'). The most familiar instance is the proverbial *nec prece, nec pretio* (Ov. fast. II. 805, 806, cod. Justin. I. 3. 31, [al. 30] med., Phaedr. V. 7. 18, Ter. Eun. V. 8. 27=II. 7, Bothe Poet. Scen. Lat. V. 248). The later writers, e.g. St Augustine, revel in the use of this puerile figure. Milton has not disdained it, 'beseeching or besieging.' Auson. has the following exx. prof. 15. 2, and epist. 15. 5, (*felle—melle*); epist. 22. 30, cf. epigr. 33. 1 (*solo—salo—Caelo*); epigr. 91. 3 (*mores—amores*), cf. Plaut. Pseud. I. 1. 62; idyll. 6. 2, (*amentes—amantes*) cf. Plaut. Merc. prol. 81; lud. VII. sap. praef. 3, 4 (*legenda—tegenda*); gratiar. act. § 36 (*libris—liberis*). Above all, idyll. IV. 97 seq.: *posses* ornatus, *posses* oneratus *haberi.* | *accessit tamen ex nobis* honor *inclitus: hunc tu* | *effice ne sit* onus. See below § 81 (*prudentia—inpudentiam*), and § 114 (*mortali immortalitatem*). See p. 160.]

[l. 15. *qui—fuisset.* § 7. l. 8 n. *in eo numero,* far more common in Cic. than *in eorum n.* So p. Marcell. § 21: *ex hoc numero, qui una tecum fuerunt.* Madvig, § 317, Zumpt, § 366, and esp. Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 185 seq. So *ex eo genere, qui,* &c. On the other hand we have exx. corresponding to the Engl. 'of the number of those, who' etc. e.g. de orat. II. § 56: *ex numero eorum, qui causas dictitarunt.* Cf. Acad. II. § 15. Madvig on Cic. de fin. III. § 70.]

l. 17. *Citius*, 'sooner,' passing into the sense of *potius*, for which reason *quam ut* follows, as after *potius*. [Just as our 'rather' originally meant 'earlier,' and as 'sooner' often = rather; and in vulgar English 'I would die *first*.' Cf. the Germ. 'eher.']

l. 17. *aliquos*. e.g. P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, ad Fam. XII. 14. § 6. [and C. Octavius, Plut. Caes. 67. ABR. App. b. civ. II. 119, Dio XLIV. 21.]

[l. 18. [*conscii*] Madvig.]

§ 26. l. 21. *nem*. i.e. nullius nomen; not having learnt the art of politic reserve.

[l. 22. *auctores ad* Tusc. I § 26. p. Sest. § 42. KOCH.]

l. 23. *auctoribus*. 'authors, devisers,' sc. caedis. Madvig [Opusc. I. 164] reads *actoribus*. *Brutos*. Marcus and Decimus.

l. 24. *L. Brutus*, the founder of the republic. His patrician family became extinct on the death of his two sons (Dionys. V. 18. Dio XLIV. 12); the later Junii were of plebeian descent. But it was for the interest of Cæsar's murderers to represent the Bruti as descendants of the first champion of liberty. Plut. (Brut. 1), who appeals to Posidonius, has allowed himself to be misled. [Phil. I. § 13: *ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit*. HEUS. On the statues of the old L. Brutus, and on the tribunal of the prætor Marcus, unknown hands wrote at night, 'Would that thou wert living!' 'Thy posterity is degenerate.' 'Brutus, art thou dead?' and again, 'Thou art not sprung from him!' 'Brutus, dost thou take bribes?' (App. II. 112, cf. Plut. Brut. 9.).]

l. 25. *Ahalae*. Servilia, Marcus' mother, traced her pedigree to C. Servilius Ahala, who slew Sp. Mælius B.C. 439. [Plut. Brut. I. Cf. infr. § 27. l. 13. §§ 87, 114. From Polyb. VI. 53. § 5 seq. we learn that *imagines* were painted masks of wax, worn at funerals by men chosen for their resemblance to those ancestors of the deceased whom they personated. Sometimes casts were taken from the face of a corpse (Quintil. VI. I. § 40). They correspond to our 'family portraits.' Here we see that *imagines* of maternal ancestors were included; in Vatin. § 28 Vatinius, brother-in-law of M. Antonius, has those of the Antonii. In Tac. Ann. III. 76, those of twenty families are carried in one funeral.]

[l. 27. *foris—domo*. i.e. from abroad—from home. Cf. *ab alienis, a suis*, l. 26. *foris* though often opposed to *domi, Romae*, etc. and joined with verbs of rest; yet often, as here, is joined with verbs of motion; e.g. Lucr. V. 544: *quaecunque foris veniunt*. Cf. Hand Tursell. II. 708, 709. Mencken cites for *foris petere*. de fin. III. § 24, Tusc. disp. III. § 6.]

[l. 28. *non modo—sed ne—qu*. Zumpt, § 724 b. Madvig, § 461 b. Where the two clauses have the same predicate (verb), and that is placed in the second clause, the negative in *ne quidem* is generally understood in the first clause, i.e. *non modo* is used for *non modo non*. Cf. Tusc. disp. I. § 87: *mortuorum autem non modo vitae commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam caret*, which might have been expressed thus. *M. a. nemo non modo v. c. caret, s. n. v. q. i.* The order of the sentences may be inverted, e.g. de divin. II. § 113: *numquam ne mediocri quidem cuiquam, non modo prudenti*. See Moser's references there.] *potentiam*, with allusion to Sp. Cassius Vecellinus, who in his 3rd consulship, B. C. 486, first proposed a *lex agraria* and was suspected of aiming at the tyranny. Liv. II. 41. § 10: *Quem, ubi magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui* patrem auctorem eius supplicii *ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum* 'ex Cassia familia datum.' [infr. §§ 87, 114.]

l. 31. *in Cilicia*, Intr. n. 55. [The *Cydnus*, now 'Tersus-tschai,' or 'Kara-Su,' flowed through the midst of Tarsus; a bathe in its cold waters, remedial for the gout, nearly cost Alexander his life. At its mouth it spread into lagoons (called *Rhegma*), which served as the harbour of Tarsus.]

l. 32. [*ille* Caesar.] *ad eam ripam, quam*. [Where the same preposition governs the antecedent and relative, the prep. is often omitted before the latter, if the verb in both clauses is the same.] So § 37: *me tanta in maestitia fuisse quanta ceteri*. ad Att. III. 19. § 2: *Me tuae litterae numquam in tantam spem adduxerunt quantam aliorum*. ad Att. VIII. 11 D, § 2: *in eadem opinione fui qua reliqui* etc. [Madvig, § 323 b, n. 1, and ad Cic. de fin. I. § 32, Zumpt, § 778, Matthiä Gr. Gr. § 595. 4, Schäfer ad Soph. Oed. C. 749, Heind. ad Plat. Phaed. § 57. Cic. Tusc. disp. I. § 93: *ante tempus mori miserum esse. Quod tandem tempus?* ibid. § 94, de fin. I. § 49, IV. § 56, de leg. III. § 33, Nep. V. 3. § 1. Xen. Hist. Gr. I. 6. § 11: ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα. Plat. Gorg. 449 E, 453 E, Demosth. p. 271. § 134. Ter. Adelphi II. I. 32.]

§ 27. P. 12. l. 1. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who with his father Lucius, the *legatus* of Pomp., was taken prisoner at Corfinium B.C. 49, (Caes. b. civ. I. 23), and admitted to mercy. That he was one of the conspirators is asserted also by Dio XLVIII. 7, and 29. Suet. however (Ner. 3) says: *is inter conscios Caesarianae necis quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia* (on the *lex Pedia* cf. Vell. II. 69. § 5); so too L. Cocceius Nerva in App. b. civ. V. 62. Drumann (Gesch. Roms III. 25), follows Suet. and App., forgetting that flatterers may have had a motive for clearing the memory of Nero's great-grandfather.

l. 2. *patris interitus*. His father, cos. 54, one of Cæsar's most obstinate enemies, fell at Pharsalus. Caes. b. civ. III. 99:

L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens, cum vires eum lassitudine defecissent, ab equitibus est interfectus. Cf. infr. § 71. *avunculi.* Cato of Utica, whose sister Porcia was wife of L. Domitius.

l. 3. *spoliatio.* After Pharsalus he returned to Italy, and lived in retirement.

[l. 4. *persuasi . . . suadere.* ad Att. XIII. 38. § 2: *Tu autem, quod ipse tibi* suaseris, *idem mihi* persuasum *putato.* Apul. several times (see Hildebr. ad Met. IX. 25, p. 818) has *suasi ac denique persuasi.*]

l. 5. *ausus essem,* on account of his intimacy with Cæsar. § 116 n. [cf. § 34. Vell. II. 56. § 3: *idibus Martiis . . . adiectis etiam consiliariis caedis familiarissimis omnium et fortuna partium eius in summum erectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio, . . . interemptus est.*]

l. 8. *L. Tillius Cimber,* who however took the lead in the assassination, giving his confederates the signal by tearing Cæsar's toga from off his shoulder. [Sen. de ira, III. 30. §§ 4, 5: *Divum Iulium plures amici confecerunt quam inimici . . . Vidit itaque strictis circa sellam suam gladiis commilitones suos, Cimbrum Tillium acerrimum paulo ante partium defensorem, aliosque post Pompeium demum Pompeianos.* ABR.]

l. 12. The *Servilii Cascae, Publius* who gave Cæs. the first blow, and *Gaius,* both Cæsarians.

l. 13. *an Ahalas,* as worthy successors of C. Servilius Ahala. § 26. l. 25 n.

[l. 15. *Longum est,* where we say 'it were (would be) tedious.' (Madvig, § 348 c, n. Zumpt, § 520.) That is, the Romans speak of the thing absolutely, *infinitum est,* 'it is an endless task' etc.; we speak of it as conditioned by such and such circumstances; 'there would (in the given case) be no end to it,' etc. Tusc. disp. I. § 17: *si te rogavero aliquid, non respondebis?* A. Superbum *id quidem* est; *i. e.* 'That would be arrogant.' ibid. § 118: *magnum est,* where see Kühner. Cf. infr. § 103. l. 13. So *satis est, facile est, consentaneum est.* Quintil. I. 6. § 35: *inhumanum est.* ibid. 10. § 1: *infinitum erat.* Cf. the use of ἔδει, προσῆκεν, etc. without ἄν. Matthiä, § 505. 2. Obs.]

c. XII. § 28. [l. 19. *extollens.* *Ex* in composition often means 'aloft,' 'on high.' Sall. Jug. 93. § 2: *prope ad summum montis egressus est.* Liv. XXVI. 45. (*evadere*). NAEGELSB.] *Cic. excl.,* 'cried *Cicero.*' [So § 30. l. 6. Calenus in his invective (Dio XLVI. 22) alleges the same evidence of Cicero's complicity.]

[l. 22. *Vide ne.* Madvig, § 372 b, n. 1. infr. § 35. l. 12.]

[l. 25. *laudium.* § 35: *immunitatium.* Cic. de off. III. § 75: *fraudium.* Zumpt, § 66 c. Madvig here reads *laudum,* which is the more common form.]

§ 29. [l. 31. *regnare* generally implies arbitrary, tyrannical rule; *rex*)(*lex.* Suet. Calig. 22.]

[l. 32. *Omnes* etc. cf. § 25. l. 9 n.]

§ 30. P. 13. l. 4. *vel dicam*=*vel potius* (§ 76) or *vel ut verius dicam* (§ 65). [Cic. Brut. § 207: *mihi placebat Pomponius maxime, vel dicam minime displicebat.* ad fam. IV. 7. § 3: *a plerisque, vel dicam ab omnibus.* Cf. Madvig on de fin. I. § 10, p. 24.]

pecudis, in the more restricted sense 'sheep,' hence as a nickname for a blockhead, as or. in Pis. § 19. [cf. Juv. X. 50 (*vervex*). Cic. Phil. VIII. § 9: *homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius.* Koch adds Lael. § 48. parad. § 14. Tac. XIII 1.]

l. 5. *honoris causa.* 'with respect, in order to testify my respect for him,' a formula employed when living persons were mentioned by name. p. Rosc. Am. § 6: *L. Sulla, quem honoris causa nomino.* ibid. § 15: *Metellis, Serviliis, Scipionibus, . . . quas, ut aequum est, familias honestatis amplitudinisque gratia nomino.* ibid. § 27 and esp. § 47: *verum homines notos sumere odiosum est, cum et illud incertum sit, velintne sese nominari.* de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 58.)(Verr. Act. I. § 18: *contumeliae causa nominare.* [infr. § 113: *quam ego sine contumelia describo.* p. Q. Rosc. com. § 18: *Nonne, quotiescumque in causa in nomen huius incidisti, toties hunc et virum bonum esse dixisti et honoris causa appellasti? quod nemo nisi aut honestissimo aut amicissimo facere consuevit.*] On the compliments paid by Ant. to Brutus, cf. Phil. I. § 6: *patriae liberatores . . . . quos ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant.* supr. § 5.

[l. 6. *Cic. excl.* § 28. l. 20. In the definition of the figure *exclamatio* (ad Herenn. IV. § 22) the *compellatio hominis aut loci* is an element. Cf. Gesner or Forc. s. v. *exclamo.*]

[l. 9 seq. *ille—is.* Madvig, § 489 a. infr. § 63. l. 18. § 101: *Agrum Campanum—hunc.* de off. III. § 13 (cited by Heus.): *illud quidem honestum, quod proprie vereque dicitur, id in sapientibus est solis.* N. D. I. § 61: *ego ipse pontifex, qui . . . arbitror, is . . . velim.* Acad. I. § 1.]

[l. 10. *Esto; sit.* Cf. § 8. l. 10 n. § 75. l. 9. Cf. de fin. IV. § 73: *ne sit sane.*]

l. 13. *quam velis esse causam:* bonam an malam.

l. 14. *exala.* This form is better attested by ancient MSS. than the common *exhalare.* [Lachmann reads (Lucr. VI. 478) *alitus;* (III. 432) *exalare.* See his note there p. 170. Mr Munro (vol. ii. p. 53.) retains the *h.* Cf. on *inquam* Madvig Opusc. I. 157: 'quum te constituere illud iubeo, hoc iubeo, crapulam ut edormias; ea est enim causa oblivionis tuae.']

c. XIII. § 31. [l. 19. *paulisper.* So with one *l* in the Medicean Virgil. Lachmann on Lucr. I. 313: 'paullisper hodie sine

veterum librorum auctoritate faciunt suo periculo antiquarii; qui inepti habendi sunt, donec demonstraverint in huius modi vocabulis ablativos inesse, *quantis, aliquantis, paullis, pauxillis, tantis.*']

[l. 23. *plus* is always used (not *magis*) to indicate that a word is inadequate to the idea, *e.g. animus plus quam fraternus.* Madvig, § 305. n. 2. Lucan. I. 1: *Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos.* Flor. IV. 2 (=II. 13) § 4: *plus quam bellum.* Luc. VII. 639. So *perfidia plus quam Punica* etc. ap. Hand Tursell. IV. 476.]

[l. 25. *patriae parentem.* A title which often appears on coins. Cf. Phil. XIII. § 23, Suet. 76, 85. de off. III. § 83: *Potest enim.. cuiquam esse utile foedissimum et taeterrimum parricidium patriae; quamvis is, qui eo se obstrinxerit, ab oppressis civibus parens nominetur?* Cicero was jealous of a distinction which he himself long enjoyed alone. Juv. VIII. 243, 244: *Roma parentem, | Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.*]

l. 26. *quid dicis?* By what name do you call them?

l. 27. *si parricidas*, sc. dicis.

l. 28. *apud p. R.* i. e. in contionibus.

l. 29. *referente te* ad senatum. *legibus.* from the provisions of the laws. Cf. Ascon. argum. ad Cornelianam p. 57: *Antiquo iure cautum erat ne quis nisi per populum legibus solveretur, itaque in omnibus senatus consultis, quibus aliquem legibus solvi placebat, adici erat solitum, ut de ea re ad populum ferretur: sed paulatim ferri erat desitum, resque iam in eam consuetudinem venerat, ut postremo ne adiceretur quidem in senatus consultis de rogatione ad populum ferenda, eaque ipsa senatus consulta per pauculos admodum fiebant.* Cf. Intr. n. 184.

l. 30. *Apollinares.* Intr. § 48. [Cobet Monemos. 1879 22—3.]

l. 31. *provinciae.* Crete and Cyrene, not Macedonia and Syria. Cic. here speaks of the provinces which they received on the proposal of Ant. Intr. § 46. [Bake on Cic. de leg. I. § 53, p. 430, has collected examples of proconsular provinces governed by prætors; as Brutus (infr. § 97 and Phil. x. § 25); Cassius (Phil. XI. § 30). Cf. Drumann, Index under *Proconsuln.*]

l. 32. *quaestores additi.* Not that Cæsar, when distributing the provinces (Intr. § 25) named also the quæstors and *legati* beforehand; it appears rather that Ant. in his *lex* proposed an extraordinary no. of quæstors and *legati* for Brutus and Cassius.

P. 14. l. 2. *homicidas*, sc. dicis. *liber.* sc. dicas. [Cf. p. 13. l. 26 and 27.]

§ 32. l. 4. [*Quid est?* etc. 'What is the matter? Are you puzzled? for perhaps you do not well comprehend what is couched —] *diiunctius*, too much in the form of a logical dilemma.' Cf. Cic. Topica § 56: *Reliqui dialecticorum modi plures sunt, qui ex diiunctionibus constant: 'aut hoc aut illud: hoc autem, non igitur illud.' Itemque: 'aut hoc aut illud; non autem hoc, illud igitur.' Quae conclusiones idcirco ratae sunt, quod in diiunctione plus uno verum esse non potest.* Acad. II. § 97: *si e contrariis diiunctio — contraria autem ea dico, cum alterum ait, alterum negat —, si talis diiunctio falsa potest esse, nulla vera est.* See too Cic. de nat. deor. I. § 70.

l. 6. *summa*, the substance of my argument.

[l. 8. *or. meam.* § 25. [*retexam.* I will retract (see Forc. or Gesner) my former denial of complicity.]

l. 9. *ut si qui forte*, etc. 'I will write to them always to admit the truth of your charge against me, if any one shall chance to ask the question.' Nägelsbach notices the number of subordinate clauses inserted in the sentence, *scribam ad illos, ut ne cui negent.* the conditional, *si qui forte quaerent;* the interrogative, *sitne verum;* the relative, *quod—obiectum est.* On *ut ne* see Madvig, § 456. Hand Tursell. IV. 32 seq.]

l. 11. *celatum me.* Plut. Brut. c. 12. [The conspirators feared to trust Cicero's timid nature with so bold a plot. Plut. Cic. 42. ABR. *celatum me.* 'that I was kept in the dark.' Madvig, § 228 a, and n. Zumpt, § 391. Madvig (*Bemerkungen über verschiedene Punkte des Systems der lat. Sprachlehre.* 1843. p. 30 n.) thus explains the construction; *doceo* 'I instruct,' *celo* 'I keep in ignorance,' originally took an acc. of the person (hence the pass. construction); when the verbs received the additional meanings 'I give instruction in,' 'I conceal,' they took an acc. of the thing. Both constructions were afterwards combined. Cic. uses *celor* with *de* (p. Sull. § 39, p. Cluent. § 189, ad fam. v. 2. § 9, ad Att. x. 14. § 3) or with the acc. of a neut. pron. (cf. § 21. l. 30 n. ad Qu. fr. III. 5. § 4; so prob. Hirt. bell. Alex. 7. § 1. Mr Shilleto adds Ter. Hec. IV. 4. 23, and the rare constr. in Lucan v. 200. *nullumque futuri | a superis celate diem*).]

l. 15. *commendatior.* 'better recommended, more worthy to be commended.' Cic. does not use *commendabilis.* [Perfect participles often supply the want of verbals in *bilis*, more particularly in the compar. or superl. Cf. infr. § 65. l. 9 n.]

[l. 17. *equum Troian.* Cic. de or. II. § 94: *Isocrates, ... cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt.* GARAT.]

[l. 18. *quoquo animo.* Intr. n. 219.]

§ 33. l. 21. *relegatos.* the technical word for expulsion from the city. p. Sest. § 29: *in contione relegavit, edixitque, ut ab urbe abesset milia passuum ducenta.*

[l. 22. *qui locus ... tam desertus ... qui.* Dobree (Advers. I. 426) compares e. g. Demosth. Mid. p. 536. 6. § 66: τίς οὕτως

ἀλόγιστος ἢ τίς οὕτως ἄθλιός ἐστιν ὅστις ἑκὼν ἂν ... ἐθελήσειεν ἀναλῶσαι; So: 'Lives there a man with soul so dead, *Who* never to himself has said . . ?']

c. XIV. § 34. [l. 30. *ne non.* Madvig, § 376. Hand Tursell. IV. 49. Cic. Verr. IV. § 82: *non vereor, ne hoc officium meum P. Servilio iudici non probem.*]

l. 31. *fuissem* in eo numero. *regnum*, which, while you live, still exists. Cf. Cic. ad Cassium (ep. ad fam. XII. 1): *ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno, sed rege liberati videmur; interfecto enim rege regios omnes nutus tuemur. Neque vero id solum, sed etiam quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probamus. Nec eius quidem rei finem video. Tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maximae describuntur, exsules reducuntur, senatus consulta falsa deferuntur, ut tantum modo odium illud hominis inpuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res publica iaceat in iis perturbationibus, in quas eam ille coniecit.* ad Att. XIV. 9. § 2: *O di boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit.* [Intr. § 30. ad Att. XIV. 14. § 2: *sublato enim tyranno tyrannida manere video. Nam quae ille facturus non fuit, ea fiunt, ut de Clodio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse.* (The recall of Clodius was condemned also by Pansa. ibid. 19. § 2. cf. supr. § 9. l. 6.). Cic. ad Cassium (ad fam. XII. 4. § 1): *Vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam invitasses: reliquiarum nihil fuisset. Nunc me reliquiae vestrae exercent, et quidem praeter ceteros me.* Cf. infr. §§ 86, 113 seq. On *regnum* supr. § 29. l. 31 n.]

l. 32. *stilus*, a *double entendre* (hence *ut dicitur* ='ut aiunt'), as Horat. sat. II. 1. 39: *sed hic stilus haud petet ultro | quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis | vagina tectus.* [For *ut dicitur* Seyffert (ad Lael. § 97, p. 539) cites Cic. de off. I. § 80: *de gradu deici, ut dicitur.* Lael. § 101: *ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire.* etc. Add ad fam. IX. 26. § 2.]

P. 15. [l. 1. *mihi crede.* very common in Cic. *Crede mihi* is common in other writers, but is said to be found only 4 times in Cic. and that in the letters, ad fam. X. 6. § 2: *crede igitur mihi.* (where the termination of a pentameter is avoided); ad Att. VI. 6. § 1, VIII. 14. § 1, XIV. 15. § 2.]

[l. 2. *confecissem.* verbum ambiguum, quod non solum est absolvere, sed etiam occidere. *confectores* = bestiarii. ABR.]

l. 4. *Narbone.* Intr. § 20. [Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*) on the Atax (*Aude*) received a colony of Roman citizens B.C. 118, and became the seat of the governor of the province; before that time it rivalled Massilia as an emporium of British tin.]

consilium cepisse. A rhetorical falsehood. Treb. sounded Ant. without receiving any promise. Intr. n. 76.

l. 6. *te* follows after *quem*, as often when two relative sentences are coupled together, *is* takes the place of the second *qui.* [Madvig, § 323 b, opusc. II. 178, and on Cic. de fin. I. § 42. Zumpt, § 806, Kühner on Cic. Tusc. V. § 8. Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 472. 3. Soph. Aj. 457: *ὅστις ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς | ἐχθαίρομαι, μισεῖ δέ μ' Ἑλλήνων στρατός.* This constr. is very frequent in Homer.]

l. 7. *sevocari.* Intr. n. 117. [Phil. XIII. § 22: *Trebonium dedisse poenas? sceleratum Trebonium? quo scelere? nisi quod te Idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit?*]

l. 9. *non indicasti.* Intr. n. 75.

[l. 10. *quaerebat.* 'required' 'called for' 'demanded.' Sall. Jug. 98. § 3: *(collis) magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat.* Liv. IV. 14. § 2: *quod bellum repens...dictatoriam maiestatem...quaesisset.* Cic. Verr. I. § 29: *nego esse quidquam a testibus dictum, quod . . cuiusquam oratoris eloquentiam quaereret.*]

§ 35. l. 11. *Cassianum.* p. Mil. § 32: *Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci...belua [Clodio] docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in Milonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Itaque illud Cassianum,* cui bono fuerit, *in his personis valeat, etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi saepe parvo. Atqui Milone interfecto Clodius hoc assequebatur,* etc. where Asc.: 'L. Cassius was a man of extreme strictness. When *quaesitor iudicii* in a cause of murder, he always urged the *iudices* to inquire who had a motive for the crime,' (who would gain by the death). [L. Cassius Longinus trib. pl. B.C. 137, when he carried the *lex Cassia tabellaria*, by which the votes were given by *tabellae*, 'tickets' (instead of orally) in *iudicia populi* (=*publica* in the *comitia centuriata*) Cic. Brut. § 97: *homo...ipsa tristitia et severitate popularis.* ibid. § 106, (where the date is given). The aristocracy were alarmed at the advantage which this law gave to the commons, and the influence of the younger Africanus was needed to carry it. (p. Sest. § 103, de leg. III. §§ 35, 37)—*Cassiani iudices* (Verr. III. §§ 137, 146, p. Rosc. Amer. § 85), proverbial. The famous maxim of Cassius is explained by Priscian, XVIII. c. 30. § 293: cui bono? *id est, cuius gratia? ad cuius bonum?* Cf. p. Rosc. Amer. §§ 84, 86: *L. Cassius ille, quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem putabat, identidem in causis quaerere solebat,* cui bono fuisset? *Sic vita hominum est, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe atque emolumento accedere. . . . . In hac enim causa cum viderent illos amplissimam pecuniam possidere, hunc in summa mendicitate esse, illud quidem non quaererent,* cui bono fuisset, *sed eo perspicuo nomen et suspitionem potius ad praedam adiungerent quam ad egestatem,* etc. ibid. § 13: *accusant ii* quibus *occidi patrem Sex. Roscii* bono fuit, etc. The solecistic mistranslation 'what good is it?' 'to

what end does it serve?' was protested against by J. Fr. Gronovius (Obs. IV. 9, p. 405, Fr.) two centuries ago: 'neque enim, ut vulgo in ore est omnibus, id significat, ad quem usum; sed, cui homini res fuerit bono seu emolumento;' he cites ad Herenn. II. § 6: *Collatio est, cum accusator id, quod adversarium fecisse criminatur, id nemini nisi reo* bono fuisse *demonstrat; aut* etc.... *Hoc loco defensor demonstret oportet aut* aliis *quoque* bono fuisse *aut* etc. and IV. § 53: *res ista* bono nemini *praeter istum* fuit etc. In this construction of *esse, dare* etc. (*honori est,* 'it serves as an honour;' *reliquit legiones duas praesidio* 'by way of guard;' etc.), the dative of the person and thing are commonly found together. Cf. Zumpt, § 422, Madvig, § 249. Phaedr. V. 4. 12: *Paucis temeritas est bono, multis malo.* The true Latin for 'Of what use is it?' is *Quo mihi* e.g. *fortunam?* (cf. Juv. VIII. 9, Bentl. on Hor. Epist. I. 5. 12) or *Quo tibi sumere?* (Hor. S. I. 6. 24); *quid prodest?* or *quorsum haec?* ('to what end?'). Or we may say, e.g. for 'What was the good of your writing to him?' *Quid ut inde boni caperes, ad eum scripsisti?* In the jurists we find *Quo bonum est?* (Cf. Dirksen's Manuale, p. 101 b.) In St Augustine, *utquid* (ἱνὰ τί) de civ. Dei, I. 18. § 1, II. 23. § 1, de gen. ad litt. I. § 23 pr., tract. in Jo. LIII. § 8, CV. § 8. See Tac. dial. 9.]

[l. 12. *vide ne.* § 28. l. 22. *Vide ne haereas* would be a good translation of our 'I am afraid that you may find the question embarrassing.']

ne h. because you have gained so greatly by Cæsar's death. [See Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 41.]

[l. 13. Madvig opusc. I. 207, in the old reading *illud quidem fuit, ut tu dicebas,* changed *tu* into *tum:* 'ea, quae nunc ab Antonio dicantur et agantur, ab illius temporis dictis discrepare orator dicit.']

ut dicebas. prob. in the temple of Tellus on the 17th of March [infr. § 89 n.], but then certainly in such a manner, as not to offend his party. [Mark the *omnibus,* which shews that *cui* in l. 12 is dat. of the person.]

[l. 15. *aere alieno.* On the debts of Ant. cf. § 4. l. 24, §§ 44 sqq., 50, 62, 71 seq., 78. § 93 n.]

l. 16. *ad aedem Opis.* infr. § 93 n. *per easdem tabulas.* § 93: *ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, quae sunt ad Opis?* The same account-books and sums of money by which you cleared yourself from debt, enabled you also to lavish untold treasures upon your associates. Cf. Phil. V. § 11: *Illa vero dissipatio pecuniae publicae ferenda nullo modo est, per quam sestertium septiens miliens falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque avertit.*

l. 18. *delata.* Intr. § 31. with n. 129.

l. 19. *falsorum,* etc. Intr. § 40. [On the practice of forgery in Rome, cf. Suet. Tit. 3: *E pluribus comperi, notis* (short hand) *quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantem, imitarique chirographa quaecumque vidisset: ac profiteri saepe,* 'Se maximum falsarium esse potuisse.' cf. Torr. ad loc.]

[*chir.* § 109. § 8: *an chirographo? in quo habes scientiam quaestuosam.*]

[l. 20. *immunitatium.* cf. § 28. l. 25: *laudium.* Livy uses no other form of the gen. pl. of *civitas* than *civitatium.*]

l. 21. *nundinae.* cf. Phil. III. § 10: *huius domi inter quasilla pendebatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia; una in domo omnes, quorum intererat, totum imperium populi R. nundinabantur.* ib. § 30: *qui falsas leges C. Caesaris nomine et falsa decreta in aes incidenda et in Capitolio figenda curaverit earumque rerum omnium domesticum mercatum instituerit.*

§ 36. [l. 23. *Nescio quid.* 'You seem to be somewhat confused.' On this use of the acc. of neuter pronouns, cf. § 21. l. 30 n. *n. q. cont. esse=n. qua conturbatione affici;* just so *quid* in the next line, 'have you any lurking fear—(then follows the proper object of *subtimes*)—lest, &c.?' cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. I. § 14. p. 33. For *conturb.* cf. supr. p. 14. l. 4. Cic. top. § 52: *pallor, rubor, titubatio, si qua alia signa conturbationis et conscientiae:* in Tusc. IV. § 19, Cic. defines *conturbationem metum excutientem cogitata.*]

[l. 25. *non est tuum.* 'you are not the man ('it does not belong to your character,' 'it is not in your nature') to deserve well of the state.' Hor. carm. III. 29. 57 sq.: *Non est meum si mugiat Africis | procella ventis ad miseras preces | decurrere;* where see Orelli.]

c. XV. § 37. [l. 31. *Castra.* Plut. Cic. 38.]

[l. 32. *ut dixi.* § 24. l. 6 seq.]

P. 16. l. 2. *egeres,* who have grown rich at our cost.

l. 4. *providerem futura,* so Cic. always, not *praevidere,* §§ 24, 83.

[l. 5. *quanta,* i. e. *in quanta.* § 26. l. 32 n.]

[l. 6. *Dolebam, dolebam, p. c.,* cf. § 43. l. 16: *Audite, audite, p. c.*]

[l. 10. *angoribus.* 'melancholy.' The Latin plur. often represents the sing. of our abstract substantives. So de off. II. § 2, (*angores*). Cf. de or. II. § 131: *usus, auditio, lectio, litterae* ('writing,' 'authorship'). So *dicendi praecepta*='rhetoric;' *numeri*='arithmetic' (de fin. I. § 72, where *astra* is even used for 'astronomy'). NAEGELSB.]

[l. 14. *omnem*, etc. In a census taken after Cæsar's fourfold triumph, the numbers did not reach half the former amount. Plut. Caes. 55, cf. App. b. civ. II. 102.]

[l. 16. *condicione*. *Dicio* and *condicio* (not *ditio*, *conditio*) are the forms constantly found in the best MSS., in coins and inscriptions (Wagner, Orthogr. Vergil. and note on Aen. I. 236). 'On condition' is always expressed in Cic. by the abl. without *sub* (Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 147, sqq.)—Cic. wrote to Att. (VIII. 3. § 3, cited by Abr.) B. C. 49: *Quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? Malae condiciones erant. Fateor; sed numquid hoc peius?* Add ad Fam. VI. 4. § 4: *Prima illa consolatio est, vidisse me plus quam ceteros, cum cupiebam quamvis iniqua condicione pacem.*]

§ 38. [l. 19. *ei.* nom. plur. On this early and less usual form, cf. Madvig, § 83. n. 1. Ritschl excludes the form *ii* from early writers (Proleg. XCVII.): 'geminatum *i* in pronomine non maiorem fidem habet quam in *dii diis*, pro quibus aut *di dis* ut *i is*, aut *dei deis* ut *ei eis* veteres probarunt.']

l. 22. *At vero*, etc. 'But certainly,' you will say, 'my way of talking (*oratio*) gave umbrage to Pompeius.'

[l. 23. *An.* § 3. l. 7. Madvig, § 453. 'Was there then any one, etc.?' Hand cites Ter. Eun. II. 3. 91: PA. *Flagitium facimus.* CH. *An id flagitium est*, etc.?]

l. 24. *plus.* often used where *magis* might stand, just as the adverbial *multum*=*magno opere*, *valde*; and *quantum*=*quanto opere.* [Phil. I. § 8: *eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo.* Zumpt, § 725 fin., Madvig, § 305. n. 2, and on Cic. de fin. I. § 5, p. 13. Cic. ad Att. II. 6.]

[*ullo* and *ullius* are used substantively by the best writers; *ullo* is much more frequent than *quoquam*. Stürenburg ad Cic. de off., ed. 1834, p. 198. Cf. Madvig, § 90. 3. n.]

l. 25. *quidem*. 'certainly.'

[l. 27. *Ego* (*videbam*) *quid ille* (*sentiret et spectaret*), and so l. 28: *Ego* (*consulebam*). In Latin, as the verb is commonly reserved for the end of a sentence, it is often to be supplied from a following clause; in Eng. only from a preceding. Madvig, § 478. see Cic. Tusc. I. § 38 (quoted on § 7. l. 8.) below § 78 f.]

l. 31. *quid seq.* 'his definite aims.'

§ 39. P. 17. l. 2. *Pharsalia.* This form of the adj. (cf. Φαρσάλιος) is found in the MSS. also in Phil. XIV. § 23, de divin. I. § 68. *Paphum.* From Cyprus Pompeius made his fatal passage to Egypt. Plut. Pomp. 77. At Paphus he saw on the shore a goodly building. On asking the pilot its name, he was told that it was called Κατωβασίλεια (Val. Max. I. 5. § 6).

[l. 3. *mentio ab eo*, sc. facta est. Madvig, § 479 d, n. 2. infr. § 43. l. 20 n.] *vidisse plus.* 'had seen further, been the truer prophet.' de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 64: *sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis.* [Cic. Lael. § 99, ad fam. VI. 4. § 4 (cited on § 37. l. 16). On the sanguine hopes of Pomp. cf. ad Att. VII. 8. § 4: *Sin autem ille* (*Caesar*) *fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat* (*Pompeius*) *et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat.*]

[l. 5. *Et*, like 'And,' at the beginning of a sentence in empassioned exclamations or questions. § 51. l. 31, § 110. l. 24. Liv. II. 38. § 5: *et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit?* Kühner on Cic. Tusc. disp. I. § 92. NAEGELSB.]

l. 6. *sectorem*, 'broker.' infr. § 64 seq., Intr. § 17. The estates of the proscribed were sold as public property *sub hasta* (originally the symbol of booty taken in war, set up in the camp at the sale) and always *as a whole*. Such a sale was called *sectio*, the purchaser *sector*; Gaius inst. IV. § 146: *sectores vocantur qui publica bona mercantur.* The grammarians wrongly derive the word from *sequi*, instead of *secare* (Cic. p. Rosc. Amer. § 80: *sectores bonorum et collorum*). The supposition that *sectores* were so called, because they generally resold the purchased estate in small parcels, is confuted by Cic. ib. § 103: *is qui et sector est . . ., hoc est, qui et illorum ipsorum bonorum, de quibus agitur, emptor atque* possessor *est.* As the purchaser must take with the estate all its liabilities, Mommsen refers the word to the deduction made in the price on this account. Those who offered only 50 per cent. of the value, might well be called *sectores.* [On *cuius sectorem*=*cuius bonorum sectorem.* cf. infr. § 65. l. 8 n.]

c. XVI. l. 8. *iocis.* Some very cutting ones in Plut. Cic. 38, Macrob. Sat. II. 3. § 7: [*Pompeius Ciceronis facetiarum impatiens fuit; cuius haec dicta ferebantur.* 'Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo.' *Sed et cum ad Pompeium venisset, dicentibus sero eum venisse respondit:* 'Minime sero veni; nam nihil hic paratum video.' § 8. *Deinde interroganti Pompeio, ubi gener eius Dolabella esset, respondit:* 'Cum socero tuo.' *Et cum donasset Pompeius transfugam civitate Romana:* 'Hominem bellum,' *inquit;* 'Gallis civitatem promittit alienam, qui nobis nostram non potest reddere.' *Propter quae merito videbatur dixisse Pompeius:* 'Cupio ad hostes Cicero transeat, ut nos timeat.' See generally for Cicero's jests the whole chapter 3 of Macrobius, Plut. comp. Dem. c. Cic. 1, Plut. Cic. 25—27, who says (c. 28) that they gave great offence.]

[l. 9. *quidem illa*, not *illa quidem*, as usual (§ 6. l. 19 n.); 'nam *illa castra* necessario dicendum erat cum demonstratione.' MADVIG.]

l. 10 seq. *tamen—tamen, si*, etc. Cf. p. Rosc. Am. § 55: *Innocens est quispiam, verum* tamen, *quamquam abest a culpa, suspitione* tamen *non caret: tametsi miserum est*, tamen *ei qui hunc accuset possum aliquo modo ignoscere.*

[*homines—modo homines*. An example of the figure *diaphora* (Rutil. Lup. I. § 12): *cum verbum iteratum aliam sententiam significat, ac significavit primo dictum. Id est huiusmodi:...* 'cuius aerumnae quemvis etiam extrarium hominem, modo hominem, commovere possent.' where see Ruhnk.]

§ 40. [l. 13. *macstitiam... iocum.* Plut. Cic. 38, also blames both.]

[l. 15. *Hereditatem.* Cf. § 41. l. 4. A similar taunt in Cic. ad Att. I. 16. § 10: '*Regem appellas*,' inquam, '*cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?*' Plut. (Pomp. 15) commends the patience shewn by Pompeius in not resenting the affront put upon him by Sulla, who passed him over in his will. Tac. Ann. III. 76: *Testamentum eius* (of Junia, sister of M. Brutus, and widow of Cassius) *multo apud vulgum rumore fuit; quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod civiliter acceptum.* Cf. Cic. p. Sest. § 111. ABR. p. domo § 49. It was also a great slight not to be made a guardian (*tutor*), p. Sest. l. c., p. Cluent. §§ 34, 41. The nearest relations, if not mentioned in a will, could bring a *querella inofficiosi*, and procure its reversal.]

[l. 17. *qui.* § 8. l. 24.]

[l. 18. *sestertium.* The gen. plur. of nouns denoting money, weight and measure, is commonly contracted. Madvig, § 37. n. 4; Zumpt, § 51. So infr. §§ 43, 101: *iugerum.* Varr. L. L. VIII. § 71: *quaerunt, si sit analogia,... cur dicatur mille denarium, non mille denariorum? est enim hoc vocabulum figura, ut Vatinius, Manilius, denarius: debet igitur dici, ut Vatiniorum, Maniliorum, denariorum.* Cic. orat. § 157: *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel* '*pro* deum' *dico vel* '*pro* deorum,' *alias ut necesse est, cum* '*trium* virum,' *non* 'virorum,' *cum* 'sestertium nummum,' *non* 'nummorum;' *quod in his consuetudo varia non est.* Cf. ib. 155, 156.]

[*ducentiens.* sc. centena milia = 20,000,000 sestertii. Cic. received *fortasse centiens* by the will of Diodotus (ad Att. II. 20. § 6). Cf. Plut. Cic. 8. ABR. Drumann (VI. 383) has notices of many other legacies.]

l. 19. *rettuli*, in my account-book (*tabulae accepti et expensi*).

[l. 22. *L. Rubrius.* § 103.]

l. 23. *Casinas*, of Casinum, a Volscian town in Latium. [§ 103. Sil. IV. 227: *nebulosi rura Casini.* The famous abbey of *Monte Casino* was founded on the mountain above by St Benedict A. D. 529.]

[*fecit heredem.* Madvig Opusc. I. 165, 166: 'Haec ultima *fec. her.* non solum languide redundant, sed corrumpunt manifesto orationis artificium; semel enim posito et tamquam delitescente eo, quod commune est, graviter exprimitur contrariorum relatio (*me nemo—te is*); illis contra additis pondus sententiae a verbis *te is* transfertur ad clausulam illam in qua esse non debet; tum apertum est, posita alieni hominis circumlocutione finiri sententiam et tamquam residere in ipso nomine, cui apte subiunguntur illa *Et vide* etc.']

§ 41. l. 23. *et quidem* (cf. § 43. l. 19). 'He made you his heir, *and that* with extraordinary proofs of affection, for *fratris filium praeteriit* etc.'

l. 24. *albus* etc. proverbial of those, with whom we have no intimate acquaintance. Catull. 93: *Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere, | nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.* [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 47, says that Ant. seized the inheritances of many whom he had never seen nor heard. GARAT.]

l. 25. *Q. Fufii*, sc. filium. cf. § 74.

[l. 26. *sui amicissimi.* Madvig, § 247 n. 1. infr. § 42. l. 8 n.] *palam.* p. Mil. § 48: *testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat.* Ulp. in Dig. XXVIII. 1. 21: *Heredes palam, ita ut exaudiri possint, nuncupandi sunt. Licebit ergo testanti vel nuncupare heredes vel scribere, sed si nuncupat, palam debet. Quid est palam? Non utique in publicum, sed ut exaudiri possit, exaudiri autem non ab omnibus, sed a testibus; et si plures fuerint testes adhibiti, sufficit sollemnem numerum exaudire.*

l. 27. *nominat*, in testamento. We should have expected *nominavit.*

l. 28. *sal.* 'visited.'

l. 32. *Igitur*, relates to *scio quae praedia habuerit.* Your knowledge of his wealth was reason sufficient for the disinheriting his brother.

P. 18. [l. 1. *multas pecunias.* 'much money' is *magna pecunia*; 'large sums of money' *magnae pecuniae* (de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 18, where Halm cites Lob. ad Soph. Aj. p. 127 seq.); *multae pecuniae* 'many different sums of money' (Verr. v. § 48). NAEGELSB.]

l. 3. *esset.* (cf. *te*, p. 17. l. 32, and p. 18. l. 4). The same change of person §§ 17 (lines 8, 10 and 12), 56.

l. 5. *non adisses*, 'quia nulla erat' (Manut.). Antonius

Creticus was in straitened circumstances (infr. § 44, and the anecdote in Plut. Ant. 1); Cic. maliciously ascribes the son's poverty to his being disinherited. [The taunt reappears in Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 47; Calenus ib. XLVI. 14, attempts to prove that it is inconsistent with other statements of Cic. It was a point of honour with the Romans to be mentioned in a friend's will. § 40. l. 15 n. Add ad Att. XI. 2. § 1: *Ex multis meis miserrimis curis est una levata, si... ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest.* Rein cites ad fam. XIII. 61, Suet. Aug. 66. Cic. p. Quinct. § 14: *Heredem testamento reliquit hunc P. Quinctium, ut, ad quem summus maeror morte sua veniebat, ad eundem summus honos quoque perveniret.* Val. Max. VII. chapters 7 and 8 (*de testamentis rescissis; de ratis testamentis*).]

c. XVII. § 42. l. 7. *tot dies.* Phil. V. § 19: *ipse interea septemdecim dies de me in Tiburtino Scipionis* (father-in-law of Pompeius; he slew himself after the battle of Thapsus) *declamitavit sitim quaerens; haec enim ei causa esse declamandi solet.* [Cic. writes to Cassius this year, ad Fam. XII. 2. § 1: *Caedem enim gladiator* (Ant.) *quaerit, eiusque initium a me se facturum putavit; ad quam paratus venerat, cum in villa Metelli complures dies commentatus esset. Quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse? Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere.* ABR. cf. on Scipio's villa infr. § 109.]

[l. 8. *tui familiarissimi.* § 41. l. 26, § 93. l. 13. Zumpt, § 410. *vini.* § 63. Plin. hist. nat. XIV. § 147, says that Cicero's son was notorious for his large potations: *sed nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui M. Antonio; is enim ante eum avidissime adprehenderat hanc palmam, edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate...* § 148: *Exiguo tempore ante proelium Actiacum id volumen evomuit.* Ant. styled himself a new Father Liber, and was driven about in Alexandria with an ivy chaplet, *thyrsus* and *cothurni* (Vell. II. 81. § 4). Macrob. Sat. II. 2. § 7: *Post Mutinensem fugam quaerentibus, quid ageret Antonius, respondisse familiaris eius ferebatur:* 'Quod canis in Ægypto; bibit et fugit.' HEUSINGER. See also Vell. II. 63.]

l. 9. *ing. ac.* Cod. Vat. *ingeniendi.* Qu. *ingenii exercendi?* [*declamas.* Cicero himself trained Hirtius, Pansa and Dolabella in the practice of declamation. (ad fam. IX. 16. § 7, Quintil. XII. 11. § 6 seq.)]

l. 10. *magistrum.* § 43. 'a master, whom you and your boon-companions vote a rhetorician.' [§ 8. Suet. rhet. 5: 'Sex. Clodius, a Sicilian, professor of Greek and Latin eloquence, being a man of humour and of weak sight, said that he had lost a pair of eyes in his friendship for M. Antonius;' *eiusdem uxorem Fulviam, cui altera bucca inflatior erat, acumen stili* (cf. supr. § 34. l. 32), *temptare dixit, nec eo minus, immo vel magis ob hoc Antonio gratus. a quo mox consule ingens etiam congiarium accepit, ut ei in Philippicis Cicero obicit:* 'adhibes ... dicere.' 'at quanta ... disceres.' In the *bellum Mutinense* both Ant. and Octavianus practised declamation. Suet. Rhet. 1. Antonius' eloquence was of the florid, Asiatic style (Plut. 2, but cf. 43).]

[l. 11. *concessisti.* Plut. Ant. 24 says that he was as well pleased to be rallied, as to rally others. Cf. ib. 27 (of Ant. and Cleopatra).]

[l. 12. *omnino* concessive; properly 'by all means.' It is often thus, like *scilicet*, used where *quidem* (μὲν) might stand, with *sed* (δὲ) following. Halm on Cic. p. Sest. § 84, p. 221, and index p. 334 a. Add de nat. deor. I. § 95: *utrumque omnino durum, sed usu mollienda nobis verba sunt.* ibid. § 12, de off. II. § 71, Acad. II. § 84. Plin. epist. VI. 15. § 3: *est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis; interest tamen officiis,* etc. So *quidem omnino.* ib. II. 4. § 3, 19. § 6.]

l. 13. *dicta* '*witticisms.*' In Gr. also where we find λόγον (λόγους) λέγειν, λόγος has a different (more restricted) sense; e.g. Herod. I. 141, ἔλεξε λόγον 'he recited a fable;' Eurip. Med. 322: μὴ λόγους λέγε 'do not speak empty words.' [Lobeck Paralipom. 504 seq., Herm. ad Soph. Phil. 281, Krüger's Gram. § 304, Madvig, § 223. n. 4, Zumpt, § 384, Reisig, § 383. The general rule is that the cognate accusative must either be defined by an adj., pron., or attributive clause, or else must itself connote something more than the verb; otherwise the addition would be merely superfluous. Just so in English we should scarcely say 'he fought a fight,' but we do say 'he fought a *good* fight,' 'he fought a fight *at Leuctra,*' 'he fought a fight, *and won the day.*' Thus in *servitutem servire* (Plaut. Aul. IV. 1. 6, Cic. Top. § 29, p. Mur. § 61), *servitus* implies more than *servire;* not all who serve are *slaves.* Cf. infr. § 109. p. 44. l. 11. n. Again Cael. ap. Cic. ad fam. VIII. 2. § 1: *ut suum gaudium gauderemus.* Hor. carm. III. 29. 50: *ludum insolentem ludere.* (Partly from NAEGELSB. and REISIG). On the narrower sense of *dicta* (= *dicteria*, Macrob. Sat. II. 1. § 14), see Macr. ib. § 13: *Is iocus...inter alia eius dicta celebratur.* § 14: *Sed in hoc verbum non casu incidi. Testis idem Cicero, qui in libro epistolarum ad Cornelium Nepotem secundo sic ait:* 'Itaque nostri, cum omnia quae dixissemus *dicta* essent, ea proprio nomine appellari *dicta* voluerunt.' Cic. de or. II. § 221: *defensio tota redundavit hilaritate quadam et ioco;* dicta *illa brevia non habuit.* ib. § 222: *haec scilicet bona* dicta, *quae salsa sint; nam ea* dicta *appellantur proprio iam nomine.* Cf. Quintil. VI. 3. §§ 16, 60, Varr. L.L. VI. § 61 (dictum *in mimo*). Mart. I. 4. 3, 4: *consuevere iocos vestri quoque ferre triumphi; | Materiam* dictis *nec pudet esse ducem.* Jul. Cæs. (Suet. 56) published *dicta collectanea.* We find *dicta dicere* also de orat. II. § 244, p. Planc. § 85.]

[l. 14. *avum.* Intr. § 1. See the criticisms in de orat. III. § 32: *in unaquaque re commorans* (=*sensim* here), etc. Brut. § 139: *omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; eaque suo quaeque loco, ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent,...collocabantur.* Cf. ib. § 215.]

§ 43. [l. 16. *merces.* Cf. § 84. On the scanty pittance of the *rhetor* or *sophista* cf. Juv. VII. 150—175. He must not be confounded with the *orator.*]

[l. 18. *iugerum.* Cf. § 40. l. 18. n.] *Leontini.* § 101 n. Sex. Clodius, as a Sicilian (cf. § 42. l. 10. n.), received an allotment in his own country. [See Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 30, and Calen. ibid. XLVI. 8. Phil. III. § 22: *en, cur magister eius ex oratore arator factus sit, possideat in agro publico campi Leontini duo milia iugerum immunia, ut hominum stupidum magis etiam infatuet mercede publica.*]

[l. 19. *et quidem.* § 41. l. 23.] *populi R.* i.e. discharged by the state [= *publica.* Cf. Phil. III. § 22 just quoted.]

l. 20. *nihil sapere.* § 8 n. [§ 68. See the quaint observation of Quintil. V. 13. § 38: *illae reprehensiones...inscitiae rerum verborumque et insulsitatis etiam, qualis in Antonium est, animo dantur aut iustis odiis; suntque utiles ad conciliandum iis, quos invisos facere volueris, odium.*]

l. 20. *Num etiam hoc*, sc. *est* or *habeo?* Ellipsis of the verb where the style assumes a familiar or an empassioned tone, is frequent in the Philippics; generally in short, esp. interrogative, sentences. e.g. Phil. I. §§ 6, 25: Phil. II. § 53: *Sed nihil de Caesare* etc. § 68: *At idem aedes etiam et hortos.* § 72: *ne omnia videar contra te* sc. *dicere.* ib.: *A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius quam ego ab illo?* § 74: *tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?* § 77: *confestim ad eam* etc. § 81: *esto, hoc imperite.* § 101: *medico tria milia iugerum, rhetori duo.* § 110: *Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens?*

[l. 21. *Caes. comm.* § 97.]

l. 22. *alio loco.* § 101.

l. 25. *ipso.* 'Having replied to his charges, I now come to speak of the man himself.' The verbal substantives *em.* and *corr.* imply that the action denoted by the verb is the man's proper function, business, or permanent quality. So here. 'I must speak of him, who makes it his business to reform and admonish me,' 'of our reformer and censor himself.' [Verr. III. § 108: *confector negotiorum* = chargé d'affaires. See Bentl. ad Hor. epist. I. 15. 38: '*εἰρωνικῶς* et invidiose *corrector* dicitur, qui alios castigat ipse eiusdem culpae reus. Cic. p. Balb. § 20: *O praeclarum...correctorem atque emendatorem nostrae civitatis.*' etc. NAEGELSB.]

[l. 27. *ut erit.* § 68. l. 18 n.]

[l. 28. *novus.* Brut. § 324: *ad causas simillimas inter se vel potius easdem novi veniebamus cotidie.* VICTOR.]

c. XVIII. § 44. [l. 31. *Sic opinor* etc. 'Yes, I think so; let us begin from the outset.' Ter. Phorm. II. 2. 2: PHORM. (*Itane ais*) *Phanium relictam solam?* GET. *Sic.* Hence (Diez) the Ital. *sì*, Span. *sí*, Port. *sim*, and the French *si*, e. g. in *je dis que si.* Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. p. 358. So *ita.* Hand Turs. III. 493.]

l. 32. *praet.* While you still wore the *toga* of the free-born boy; [cf. 'while in jackets.' *dec.* lit. 'to boil down,' 'waste,' 'become bankrupt' (= *conturbo*). Cf. §§ 35, 41 ad fin.]

P. 19. l. 3. *ord.* Liv. perioch. XCIX.: *L. Roscius trib. pl.* (B. C. 67) *legem tulit ut equitibus R. in theatro* XIIII. *gradus* (rows of seats) *proximi* (orchestrae, i.e. to the floor of the theatre, where the senators sat) *adsignarentur.* [In the civil wars so many were ruined, that Augustus (Suet. 40) permitted all, *quibus ipsis parentibusve equester census umquam fuisset*, to sit in these seats. Cf. Juv. III. 153—159. ibid. XIV. 323 seq.: *effice summam, | bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis. | haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum; | sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.*] *decoctoribus*, who, though as sons of senators they belonged to the equestrian order, no longer possessed the equestrian census, *i. e.* a property of 400,000 sesterces. Of the *certus locus* nothing is known.

l. 5. *muliebrem*, i. e. meretriciam. The *meretrices* and *libertinae*, by way of distinction from the matrons, wore a *toga*, and the former generally *toga pulla* of dark hue. Cf. Becker's Gallus, III. 45. [Mart. II. 39. On the prevalence at Rome of the loathsome vice, here and elsewhere in the speech imputed to Antonius, see Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, 718 seq. (Most of the heathen emperors, even an Antoninus and a Trajan, and most poets, except Ovid, of the Augustan age, were notoriously addicted to it etc.) Even this very invective attests the predominance of the moral pestilence. Cicero, himself doubtless a man of blameless life, confesses that, knowing Antonius to be a sink of all uncleanness, he yet helped him to the quæstorship, and would gladly have remained his friend. There is here little of the 'indignatio' of the satirist, nothing of the mingled shame and sorrow with which the Apostle resents this sin against our nature.]

l. 9. *stolam*, the characteristic dress of Roman ladies. Paulus Festi, p. 125: *matronas appellabant eas fere, quibus stolas habendi ius erat.* In § 50 Curio is called the *vir* of Antonius.

§ 45. [l. 10. *nemo puer.* Cf. *nemo hostis.* § 1. Stürenb. on Cic. de off. p. 182 seq.]

[l. 12. *pater.* § 12. l. 11. Cf. Intr. § 3.] *domu.* This form of the abl., which is found elsewhere, esp. in the older Latin, is attested by the best MS. also in Verr. v. § 128. Cf. Quintil. I. 6. § 5: [*si veniat in dubium hac* domu *dicendum sit, an hac* domo.]

[l. 15. *tegulas.* See Lightf. and Wetst. on St Mark ii. 4.] *Quae flagitia* etc. The thread of the argument, broken by *Scisne* etc. is, That house could no longer tolerate these infamous scenes; accordingly a final separation was effected by my means.

[l. 20. *sexagiens.* sc. centena milia. 6,000,000 sesterces.—*peteret,* sc. pater ab Antonio.]

[l. 21. *intercessisse* = soluturum promisisse. MANUT.]

[l. 23. *discidii.* Madvig (on Cic. de fin. p. 812 seq., cf. Seyffert on Lael. pp. 152, 153) seems to have proved that this is the only true form, and that *dissidium* is a mere corruption.] *se in exsilium,* i. e. that he would withdraw from Italy for a time.

§ 46. l. 26. *redimeret,* from Ant. by paying the sum guaranteed.

l. 27. *summa spe* etc. What great hopes Cic. had of Curio, we see from the letters addressed to him B. C. 53—51. (ad fam. II. 1—7.)

[l. 28. *tua fam.* cf. § 23. l. 18 n.]

[l. 31. *gladiis.* § 112 n.]

c. XIX. § 47. P. 20. [l. 8. *notiora.* § 57. l. 11.]

l. 11. *incidamus,* 'cut short.'

§ 48. l. 15. *fax,* 'firebrand,' 'match,' which fired the train of all C.'s explosions. [Cf. Intr. § 4, and on *quiddam molitus est.* ib. n. 13.]

l. 17. *Alexandream.* Intr. § 5, and n. 18. *contra senatus auct.,* because Gab. restored the king by his own authority, though with the consent of Pompeius.

l. 18. *religiones,* i. e. a prophecy of the Sibylline books, that it would be dangerous for Rome (and so *contra rem p.* also), if the king were restored by force of arms.

[l. 19. *quicum.* Madvig, § 86. n. 2.]

rectissime, without the least risk of being called to account. [Caes. b. civ. I. 74. § 2: *quaerunt, rectene se illi sint commissuri,* i. e. whether they may venture to surrender. NAEGELSB.—*posset* is subj. after *qui* consecutive.]

l. 20. *Galliam.* Intr. § 6.

l. 21. *autem,* correcting. 'Yet what house?' 'Why do I say house?' In the figure Correctio *autem* is used for *dico* or *inquam.* e. g. fragm. or. Pison.: *Quod minimum specimen in te ingenii? ingenii autem? immo ingenui hominis ac liberi* etc. p. Rab. Post. § 10: *num quis testis Postumum appellavit? testis autem? num accusator?*

l. 22. *tum,* before the confiscations. [*obt.* § 3. l. 11 n.]

[l. 24. *pedem poneres.* ad Att. XIII. 2. § 2: *pedem ubi ponat in suo, non habet.* cf. Phil. III. § 28. ABR. On the neut. pron. *in tuo,* cf. pro Quinct. § 43: *hoc quo pertinet? ut ocius ad tuum pervenias?* In general, in all expressions denoting place, the neuters of adjectives are very frequently used substantively. e.g. *in profundo, in publico, in vacuo, in summo,* etc. NAEGELSB.]

Misenum, a villa at Misenum on the coast of Baiæ.

l. 25. *Sisapo,* a town of Hispania Baetica, in the neighbourhood of which were celebrated mines of cinnabar (vermilion). Plin. hist. nat. XXXIII. 8. 40. § 119 seq. [Cinnabar (*minium*) was only imported from Spain, *celeberrimo Sisaponensi regione in Baetica miniario metallo vectigalibus populi R. Nullius rei diligentiore custodia, non licet ibi perficere id excoquique; Romam adfertur vena signata ad bina milia fere pondo annua, Romae autem lavatur, in vendendo pretio statuta lege, ne modum excederet H.S. LXX. in libras; sed adulteratur multis modis, unde praeda* societati...... § 120: *Hoc ergo adulteratur modo in officinis* sociorum. Among other uses, it was employed in illuminating books, and in bringing out the letters in inscriptions.] As the mines were worked by a company (*socii*), Cicero's jest comes to this: 'you have no place, not even so much as a foot-breadth, that you can call your own, except Misenum,—and that is not yours, but in great part your creditors'.' Cf. infr. § 73: *praeter partem Miseni.*

c. XX. § 49. *Venisti* etc. Intr. § 6.

l. 27. *parentem.* Iulia. [§ 58. l. 23 n.]

l. 28. *satis fieri.* They were enemies (1) because of the execution of Lentulus § 17, (2) because of the intimacy between Ant. and Clodius § 48.

l. 30. *de gratia,* sc. reconcilianda. *adiutus* doubtful emendation of the corrupt *ouatus* (cod. Vat.).

l. 32. *es conatus occidere.* § 21 n. Intr. n. 22.

P. 21. l. 1. *inpulsu meo.* § 21. l. 31. [On the enmity between Cic. and Clodius, cf. Plut. Cic. 28—30.]

[l. 2. *te non existimare...umquam...satis esse facturum,* i. e. (*te*) *umquam.* Madvig thinks that the Gr. construction *confitere venisse* (p. Rosc. Am. § 61) for *te v.,* may possibly be questioned,

but not the class of examples, 'in quo duplex accusativus cum infinitivo implicatur alter ab altero pendens, ut...bis idem pronomen subiecti loco poni debeat (de orat. III. § 147: *me licet existimes desperare ista posse perdiscere*, hoc est, *me d. me posse*), quae species longe certissima est; vid. divin. in Caec. § 59, Verr. III. § 32, de leg. agr. II. § 100.' cf. Zumpt, § 605.]

[l. 7. *quoniam*. Madvig (opusc. I. 172) adopts the conj. of Manut. for *quamquam*, on the grounds (1) that the sense requires *quoniam*, 'subicitur enim causa, cur eum non sit adhortatus,' (2) that the two particles are often confused.]

l. 8. The words *rem—malebam* are not in cod. Vat., and are probably a mere conjectural supplement.

§ 50. l. 10. *sine sorte, sine lege*, Intr. notes 24, 25. [ad Att. VI. 6. § 4 (written B.C. 50): *Pompeius...Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium; ego sorte datum offenderem?* Cf. ad Qu. fr. I. 1. § 11: *Quaestorem habes non tuo iudicio delectum, sed eum, quem sors dedit.*]

[l. 11. *unum* etc. In the year 56 not less than 200 senators went to Luca to pay their respects to Cæsar, some seeking money, others returning thanks for past favours. App. b. civ. II. 112, Plut. Caes. 21. Abr. cites ad Att. VII. 3. § 5: *video cum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse; omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia effectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere, omnem fere iuventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentes addito C. Cassio, omnes, qui aere alieno premantur* etc. and Suet. Caes. 27. Cf. infr. § 78.—*aeris al.* On the debts of Ant. cf. § 35.]

l. 14. *haurire*, conjectural supplement.

l. 16. *viri tui*, C. Curio (§ 44), tribune B.C. 50. Intr. § 8.

c. XXI. [l. 18. *decus*. Madvig's emendation for the MS. reading *dedecus*. Beside other reasons for the change, this is conclusive; *in dedecus* could only mean '*to* his own disgrace,' a sense of *in*, which first appears in Vell. II. 41. § 2: *cibo in vitam non in voluptatem uteretur*. Seneca and his contemporaries use *in honorem alicuius* for Cicero's *honoris alicuius gratia*, etc. Madvig, opusc. I. 166 seq., II. 322.]

l. 20. *fecerit*. Qu. *fecit?*

§ 51. l. 22. *L. Lentulo* etc. Intr. § 8 seq.

l. 27. *securi*, by his intercession. cf. § 52 ad fin.: *tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus* etc.

l. 30. *hostem*. The decree *dent operam consules* etc. conferred upon them unlimited power over life and death. That it was launched against the two 'interceding' tribunes, appears from Caes. b. c. I. 5. § 4. Cf. Intr. n. 36.

[l. 31. *Et*. § 39. l. 5, § 110 init. *apud patres* etc. § 2.]

P. 22. [l. 1. *conservator*. § 2. l. 19 n.]

[l. 5. *sempiternum*. Rome the *eternal* city. Tibull. II. 5. 23. Schwegler röm. Gesch. I. 699 n. Cast. on Rutil. Itin. II. 55.]

§ 52. l. 7. *unus*, rhetorical perversion. Intr. § 9. *adulescens*, of 34 years. [Cf. §§ 113, 118.]

l. 9. *neque tu tecum agi passus es*, i.e. you would not enter upon any negociations or concessions. *de sen. auct.* concerning the opinion, resolution of the senate.

l. 13. *agendo*. Intr. n. 35.

l. 18. *reliquis imperiis*, see the terms of the decree, Intr. § 10. cf. also ep. ad fam. XVI. 11. § 3: *Postea quam senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis pl. et nobis, qui pro consulibus sumus, negotium dederat ut curaremus, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet* etc. [p. reg. Deiot. § 11: *Cum audiret, senatus consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta esse, consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis pl., nobis imperatoribus rem publicam defendendam datam.*]

c. XXII. § 53. l. 21. *causam*. More truly *praetextum*. Plut. Ant. 6. [Hence Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 27. Cæsar to Ant. in Lucan V. 481: *o mundo tantorum causa laborum.*]

l. 22. *quam causam adferebat*. We certainly read in Caes. b. civ. I. 32: *iniuriam in eripiendis legionibus praedicat* (Cæsar in the senate, Intr. § 12), *crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis* (cf. here l. 25. *circumscriptus*) *tribunis plebis*; but other reasons are also there given.

[l. 24. *ius tribunicium*. Lucan I. 264 seq.: *iustos Fortuna laborat | esse ducis motus et causas invenit armis. | expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos | victo iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis. | hos iam mota ducis vicinaque signa petentes | audax venali comitatur Curio lingua: | vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri | ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentes.*]

l. 25. *circumscriptus*. p. Mil. § 88: *senatus, credo, praetorem eum circumscripsisset*. The senate could control magistrates who outstepped their legal powers. [*circumscribere*, to limit, restrain. Cf. Cic. ad Att. VII. 9 in Intr. n. 36.]

[l. 28. *de Caesare*, sc. dico. Cf. § 43. l. 20 n.]

§ 54. [l. 30. *miseriorem*, etc. § 16. l. 26.]

P. 23. [l. 1. *consules* etc. Intr. § 11 seq.]

l. 2. *quod*: the same attraction Phil. V. § 39: *Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto* etc. [Zumpt, § 372, Madvig, § 316, cf. 313, Matthiae Gr. Gr. § 440. Drakenborch on Liv. XXXII. 30. Cic. in Pis. § 95: *P. Rutilio, quod specimen habuit hic civis innocentiae*. Tusc. disp. I. § 1: *studio sapientiae, quae* (i.e. *quod stud. sap.*) *philosophia dicitur*. This

attraction is not confined to the relative; generally, when a pron. is the subject of a sentence, it is attracted to the gender of the predicate. e.g. Ov. epist. ex Pont. III. 3. 4: *Seu veri species, seu fuit ille* ('that,' for *illud*) *sopor*. Hence *hic labor, hoc opus est.* '*This* is a toil, *this* a work.']

[l. 4. *consulares.* p. reg. Deiot. § 11: *ut audivit, consules ex Italia profugisse omnesque consulares—sic enim ei nuntiabatur,—cunctum senatum, totam Italiam effusam. Talibus enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad orientem via; nulli veri nuntii subsequebantur. Nihil ille de condicionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam.* The whole passage, addressed as it is to Cæsar, should be compared with this.]

exsequi cladem illam fugamque, to effect that disastrous flight. [So Cat. mai. § 15: *res, quae iuventute geruntur ac viribus*, 'by youthful strength.' p. Rosc. Amer. § 9: *summus timor, quem mihi natura pudorque meus attribuit*, 'my inborn bashfulness.' NAEGELSB.]

[l. 6. *subolem.* 'the whole stock, breed which makes up our youth.' Cf. Pollio in Cic. ad fam. X. 33: *robur et suboles militum interiit*, 'the flower, nay the very breed of our soldiers is cut off.' So *proles:* Virg. Aen. VI. 785: *felix prole virum*, 'happy in her breed of men.' Georg. III. 101: *prolemque parentum*, 'the breed to which the parents belong.' Mr MUNRO in Journ. of Philology, IV. 291 seq.]

l. 7. *rem publicam expulsam.* The seat of the republic was transferred by the Pompeians first to Capua (Intr. § 11), and then to Thessalonica.

§ 55. l. 8. *in seminibus.* Dem. de cor. § 59: ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. [Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 27.]

l. 10. *tres exercitus.* § 75.

l. 11 seq. *Antonius—Antonius* etc. Figure of *conversio*, i.e. of the inverted *repetitio* (ad Herenn. IV. § 16, where see definition and examples). Phil. I. § 24: *De exsilio reducti* a mortuo, *civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis* a mortuo, *immunitatibus infinitis sublata vectigalia* a mortuo. [Cf. p. Mil. § 59: *Quis eos postulavit?* Appius. *Quis produxit?* Appius. *Unde? ab* Appio. (quoted by Manut. with de leg. agr. II. § 22). Add the example in ad Herenn. IV. § 20, Quintil. IX. 3. § 31. Rutil. Lup. I. § 8 calls *conversio* 'epiphora,' and *repetitio* 'epibole' (ib. § 7). Sosicrates (ib. § 8): *initio ad bellum suscipiendum nos primum impulit* Philippus, *deinde in ipso belli labore ac periculo deseruit nos* Philippus, *novissime nunc calamitati nostrae, proinde atque culpae, succensuit idem* Philippus. For the emphatic position of *Antonius* here cf. § 2. l. 17.—We have an example of *repetitio* (=*epibole*) in § 3. l. 6 seq. (*non venirem*). Cf. Verr. II. § 26 (*Verres*).]

[l. 12. *cives.* cf. § 37 n.]

[l. 18 seq. *perfecit—perfecerat.* You succeeded in *doing* all that the senate before the downfall of the commonwealth had succeeded in *preventing.*]

l. 20. *scelus in scelere.* The recall of condemned criminals was a *scelus*, as a rescinding of *res iudicatae;* but when Ant. had once entered upon this illegal course, it was a further *scelus*, that he had no pity on his own uncle (Intr. § 2. cf. Intr. n. 49).

c. XXIII. § 56. l. 21. *Restit.* in integrum.

[l. 22. *patrui.* § 98. Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 47, Calen. ib. XLVI. 15.] *Si severus—si misericors.* Dilemma. §§ 16, 31, 54, esp. 100.

l. 24. *de alea.* Gambling with dice was very early made penal at Rome [Hor. *vetita legibus alea*], and punished (Schol. ad div. in Caec. § 24) by a fine of fourfold amount and by infamy. That Dent. was not in exile is clear from the words *quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret.* For him therefore the *restitutio in integrum* would consist in the revocation of the legal penalty. Dio in the speech which he puts into Cicero's mouth (XLV. 18—47, chiefly taken from Phil. II.), has mistaken this passage, when (c. 47) he calls Denticulus an exile.

l. 25. *quasi vero* etc. The more usual form would be *non quo non liceret* etc.

[l. 26. *sed ut*, i.e. sed illud eo consilio fecit, ut.—NAEGELSB.]

perdiderat, Antonius, *ben. leg. diss.*, i.e. with the money received from Denticulus for carrying the law. A *restitutio in integrum* could only be effected by a *lex*, i.e. *per populum.*

[l. 28. *cur.* § 111. 'What proof did you shew for the necessity of his recall?'] *Absentem* etc. Cicero enumerates the various valid grounds for a reversion of a *res iudicata.* [*credo.* § 26. l. 30.]

l. 31. *quod de patruo tuo dicebatur.* Cicero had himself unsuccessfully defended C. Antonius.

[l. 32. *At.* § 21. p. 10. l. 2. 'But, you will say.']

P. 24. l. 1. *Nihil id quidem ad rem*, i.e., that would not of itself justify the setting aside of a *res iudicata.*

[l. 2. *ita*, 'in that case.' Ov. trist. I. 2. 105: *si fuit hic animus nobis, ita parcite, divi.*]

l. 3. *Hominem*, etc. Brevity of style for: *at erat homo nequissimus: quem qui restituit* etc.

[l. 4. *in foro.* de off. III. § 75: *in foro, mihi crede, saltaret.* cf. ib. § 93. HEUS.]

l. 6. *studium suum*, sc. alea ludendi.

§ 57. l. 8. *Italiam.* Intr. § 33.

[l. 11. *notiora.* § 47. l. 8.]

l. 12. *mihi, qui non fui.* Ant. in a very friendly letter (ad Att. x. 8 A) dissuaded Cic. from leaving Italy. [cf. a letter from Cæsar to the same purpose. ib. B.]

c. XXIV. § 58. l. 17. *essedo.* Becker's Gall. III. 9. [ad Att. VI. 1. § 25: *Vedius* (*magnus nebulo*) *venit mihi obviam cum duobus* essedis *et* reda *equis iuncta et* lectica *et familia magna.* Cicero in his letters to Trebatius (ad fam. VII. 6. § 2, 7. § 1, 10. § 2), who was then with Cæsar, more than once jestingly mentions them. Caes. b. Gall. IV. 33 describes the Britons' mode of fighting from *esseda*. ABR. Originally a British and Belgian (Virg. G. III. 204) war-chariot, with two wheels. The passages of Cic. shew that it had not yet come into very common use, as it did afterwards. Prop. II. 1. 86 (to Mæcenas): *esseda caelatis siste Britanna iugis.*]

lictores, who escorted Ant. as proprætor, not as tribune. [ad Att. x. 16. § 5: *Antonius, cuius inter lictores lectica mima portabatur.* HEUS.]

l. 18. *laureati,* with wreaths of bay about their *fasces,* a custom originally adopted in honour of victorious *imperatores.* The *fasces laureati* declared to Italy its subjection. [At the time here spoken of Curio paid Cic. a visit, ad Att. x. 4. § 6: *Quid isti, inquam, sex tui fasces? Si ab senatu, cur laureati? si ab ipso* (Caesare), *cur sex?* 'Cupivi,' *inquit,* 'ex senatus consulto surrepto'......*Cur autem sex?* 'Quia duodecim nolui; nam licebat.' ABR.]

aperta lectica, the *lecticae* (palanquins, sedans) used for travelling, had a roof and curtains (*vela*). Becker's Gallus, III. 2 seq.)(*operta.* § 106.]

l. 19. *mima.* §§ 20. l. 13 n., 61. [On the infamy attaching to the profession see Juv. VIII. 183—198, Gell. XX. 4, Aug. de civ. Dei, II. 13, 27, 29. § 2.—On Cytheris cf. Plut. Ant. 9. Ant. rode with her in a chariot drawn by lions. (Plin. hist. nat. VIII. § 55).]

l. 21. *Volumniam,* because she was also mistress of Volumnius Eutrapelus (ad fam. IX. 26), a dissolute senator. [Cic. himself and Atticus dined at Volumnius' (B.C. 47) with Cytheris, and greatly enjoyed themselves. l. c. Cf. ad fam. IX. 32. § 2: ἀκύθηρον. ABR.]

[l. 22. *reda.* A Gallic word. Quintil. I. 5. § 57: *Plurima Gallica* (verba) *valuerunt, ut* reda *ac* petorritum. *quorum altero Cicero tamen, altero Horatius utitur.* It was a four-wheeled travelling coach, of large capacity. Juv. III. 10: *tota domus reda componitur una.*]

comites, as though he had said *lenones in reda.*

l. 23. *reiecta,* in the rear. *mater,* Iulia, daughter of L. Iulius Cæsar, cos. B. C. 90. [Plut. (Ant. 2) calls her one of the most virtuous women of her time. She married Lentulus after the death of M. Antonius the father (cf. *vitricus.* § 14). When her brother L. Cæsar (ibid.) was proscribed, she stood at the door of the room in which he had taken refuge, and told the assassins that before they should touch him, they must kill the triumvir's mother (Plut. 20).]

[l. 25 seq. *vestigiis municipia inpressit.* We say, 'he imprinted footmarks *on* the *mun.*,' and so it can be said in Lat., *vestigia municipiis inpressit.* However with *inscribo, inprimo, inuro, praefigo,* the common construction is that which is strange to us. So Cic. ad fam. I. 9. § 15: *monumentum...cruentis inustum litteris.* NAEGELSB. Cf. Madvig, § 260 b. Zumpt, § 418.]

§ 59. l. 29. *lubrica,* because of the danger of offending the veterans. [infr. p. 25. l. 3.]

l. 32. *cautum.* Intr. § 32.

P. 25. l. 2. *secuti sunt* their old general Cæsar.

[l. 3. *invidiam.* Intr. n. 219.] *de genere belli,* sc. piumne fuerit an impium.

l. 4. *revertisti.* Intr. § 15. [In this sense in the pres. and tenses formed from it *revertor* etc. (cf. *devertor; reverto* only in Liv. XLV. 28. § 6); in the perf. *reverti* (so *deverti*); seldomer (never in Cic.) *reversus sum.* Thus infr. § 76. *revertissem.* Madvig, § 139, Haase on Reisig, n. 290.]

l. 5. *non occidisti* etc. c. 3.

§ 60. [l. 9. *servatam.* § 2. l. 19. *quod—meminissent* = quod, ut meminerant, servata esset. Cf. § 7. l. 6 n. and Seyffert ad Lael. p. 243.]

l. 13. *tueri,* bear in mind, thankfully acknowledge. *praesertim cum* refers to *per tuas contumelias;* affronts, which were the more wanton, as you knew that I could retaliate. §§ 64, 106. [*praesertim cum,* 'and that though.' First rightly explained by Madvig on Cic. de fin. II. § 25: 'cum *praesertim* significet, adiungi aliquid singulatim ad id, quod generalius dictum sit quo id augeatur, hoc speciale apud Latinos, maxime Cic., saepe ex contrario genere est, ut ideo maius esse videatur id, quod dicatur, quod tamen nihilo minus sit. Atque hic transitus ad significandam rem eo memorabilem, quod aliud exspectetur, fit iam in simplici particula, ut de div. II. § 142: *nec tam multum dormiens ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus,* id est, quamvis tantae essent res, ut vel praecipue admoneri debuerim.

Sed saepissime *cum praesertim* et *praesertim cum* (nullo, quod animadverterim, discrimine,) et *qui praesertim* eandem vim habent ac si dicas: *idque cum tamen, quamvis, qui tamen.*' He explains our passage: 'non destitisti me provocare, quamvis videres etc.' To his exx. add p. red. in sen. § 10: *non modo deseruerunt, in causa praesertim publica et consulari,* i. e. 'and that in' etc. Nägelsb. cites Phil. VIII. § 5: *non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud esset aetatis.* Sall. Jug. 2. § 4, Tac. dial. 24. See more in Halm on Cic. p. Sull. § 6.]

c. XXV. § 61. [This chapter is more often cited by Quintil. than any other in the speech.]

l. 15. *quidem,* that is.

[l. 16. *mimulae.* § 58. l. 19.]

[l. 19. *exerc.,* sc. pudebat. Madvig, § 478 n.]

§ 62. [l. 23. *Italiae* etc. On the omission of the verb see Madvig, § 479 d, n. 2.]

l. 25. *deductio,* to be billeted on the inhabitants.

l. 27. *magister equitum.* Intr. § 15 ad fin.

l. 29. *suo iure* as ἵππαρχος (*magister equitum*) with *Hippias,* a *mimus* (Plut. Ant. 9, infr. § 63).

vectigales, cf. Asc. ad or. in toga cand. p. 94: *Diximus iam supra Sullae ludis...quadrigas C. Antonium et alios quosdam nobiles homines agitasse. Praeterea Antonius redemptas habebat ab aerario vectigales quadrigas, quam redemptionem senatori habere licet per legem.* The *equi vectigales,* as Cic., or *quadrigae vectigales,* as Asc. calls them, are the *curules equi* of Festus ep. p. 49 (*curules equi vectigales*) and of Liv. XXIV. 18 (*cum censores ob inopiam aerari se iam locationibus abstinerent aedium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum praebendorum—convenere ad eos frequentes, qui hastae huius generis adsueverant* etc.) That the racehorses which ran in the public games are meant, appears also from Dio LV. 10, who tells us that Augustus extended to the new games in honour of Mars the old privilege of the *ludi Romani* and *Apollinares,* 'that even senators might contract for the supply of horses for the races.' Ant. as *magister equitum,* in his government of the city (Intr. § 16) gave this contract to the player Sergius, whereas hitherto, being probably rather sought for popularity than profit, such contracts had been undertaken by senators or eminent knights. [The friend who furnished Halm with this note gives *vectigales* an altogether unattested signification, 'Fahrpferd')(*equus curulis* = 'Wagenpferd'), and finds here an allusion to a doughty champion of the Hannibalian wars, 'the Roman Götz with the iron hand,' M. Sergius Silus (Plin. h. n. VII. § 104), who on coins (Eckhel v. 306) appears on horseback. 'So knightly was the conduct of our master of the knights, that he chose for the horse-

races a Sergius—only it was a player of that name.' This seems very far-fetched. *eq. vectigales,* 'qui nonnullis populis stipendiariis quotannis a populo Romano tributi nomine imperati erant; senatori cuique certum numerum minimo, ut videtur, pretio redimere licebat: eiusmodi equos Ant. Sergio, ut ex iis quem vellet quaestum faceret, tradebat.' ORELLI, who thinks that Juv. VI. 82, 104, 105, has borrowed the names *Sergiolus* and *Hippia* (whom he makes a woman) from this passage.]

l. 30. *hanc,* i. e. Cn. Pompeii. [§ 64 seq.] *male tuetur,* because of the claims of Sex. Pompeius.

l. 31. *M. Pupii Pisonis,* cos. B.C. 61.

P. 26. l. 3. *a L. Rubrio* etc. § 40 seq.

l. 5. *heres,* he is called heir to the goods of Pompeius also, because though he was the purchaser, he never paid the purchase-money.

[l. 6. *tantum—quantum.* 'just so much, and no more;' 'neither more nor less.' Juv. XIV. 233: *nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum | permittas.* So *tam* ad Att. III. 13. § 2.]

§ 63. [l. 10. *Tu* etc. Quintil. IX. 4. § 23: *Augeri enim debent sententiae et insurgere: ut optime Cicero,* 'Tu,' *inquit,* 'istis...firmitate.' *Aliud enim maius alio supervenit. At si coepisset a toto corpore, non bene ad latera faucesque descenderet.* Id. VIII. 4. § 16: *Obiecturus Antonio Cicero merum et vomitum,* 'Tu,' *inquit,* 'istis...firmitate.' *Quid fauces et latera ad ebrietatem? Minime sunt otiosa. Nam respicientes ad haec possumus aestimare, quantum ille vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauserit, quod ferre et concoquere non posset illa corporis gladiatoria firmitate.*]

gladiatoria. Intr. § 3. n. † infr. § 74. l. 27.]

[l. 11. *vini.* §§ 42, 62. l. 26.]

[l. 13. *vomere.* §§ 76, 84, 104, Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 28, ad fam. XII. 2. § 1 (to Cassius respecting Antonius' speech on Sept. 19. B.C. 44, cf. Intr. n. 219): *omnibus est visus...vomere suo more, non dicere.*] *postridie.* Zumpt, § 789 n. [Quintil. IX. 4. § 29: *Saepe tamen est vehemens aliquis sensus in verbo: quod si in media parte sententiae latet, transire intentionem et obscurari circumiacentibus solet; in clausula positum assignatur auditori et infigitur: quale illud est Ciceronis,* 'Ut tibi...postridie.' § 30. *Transfer hoc ultimum: minus valebit. Nam totius ductus hic est quasi mucro, ut per se foedae vomendi necessitati, iam nihil ultra exspectantibus, hanc quoque adiceret deformitatem, ut cibus teneri non posset* postridie.]

[l. 14 seq. *si—duceret,* cited by Quintil. V. 10. § 99, VIII. 4. § 10.]

[l. 16 seq. *In coetu—equitum.* Quintil. VIII. 4. § 8: *Singula*

incrementum habent. Per se deforme, vel non 'in coetu,' 'vomere;' 'in coetu,' *vel non* 'populi;' 'populi,' *etiam non* 'Romani;' *vel, si nullum* 'negotium' *ageret; vel, si non* 'publicum;' *vel, si non* 'mag. eq.' Id. XI. 3. § 39 tells the reader to pause on each *membrum; 'paulum morandum in his intervallis.'*]

[l. 18. *ructare.* ad fam. XII. 25. § 4 (written B.C. 43): *Sic sum in Antonium invectus, ut ille non ferret omnemque suum vinolentum furorem in me unum effunderet, meque tum elicere vellet ad caedis causam, tum temptaret insidiis; quem ego ructantem et nauseantem conieci in Caesaris Octaviani plagas.*]

[*is.* Cf. *hunc*, § 101 n.]

[l. 18—20. Quintil. VIII. 6. § 68: *Fit* (hyperbole) *pluribus modis. Aut enim plus facto dicimus,* 'vomens...implevit.']

l. 19. *gremium suum.* Cf. Plut. Ant. 9 (North's transl.): 'As for proofe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* marriage, one of his ieasters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people assembled in councell, who had sent for him: he being quesie stomached with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown in stead of a basen.'

c. XXVI. § 64. l. 22. *se recepit.* Intr. § 17.

[l. 23. *qui sit.* § 7. l. 8 n. Seyffert ad Lael. p. 167.]

[l. 24. *Hasta.* § 103. cf. § 39. l. 6 n.]

[l. 25. *pro aede* etc. opposite the equestrian statue of Cloelia, near the *Summa Nova via* and *Summa Sacra via*, at the foot of the Palatium, by the arch of Titus. Becker I. 112. Ov. trist. III. 1. 31, 32. fast. VI. 793, 794: *tempus idem Stator aedis habet, quam Romulus olim | ante Palatini condidit ora iugi.* Cicero once convened the senate there (Plut. 16).]

[l. 27. *animo.* 'cum voce *haeret* coniungendum est.' Madvig, opusc. I. 145.]

bona, inquam etc. Figure of *conduplicatio* (ad Herenn. IV. c. 28. § 38), '*cum ratione amplificationis aut miserationis eiusdem unius aut plurium verborum iteratio, hoc modo: ... Nunc etiam audes in horum conspectum venire, proditor patriae,* proditor, *inquam,* patriae venire audes in horum conspectum? etc. Verr. V. §§ 31 and 107. [Phil. XIII. § 10: *Salvis enim actis Caesaris, quae concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam emit Antonius, redimet:* redimet, *inquam,* Cn. Pompei domum *filius*... § 11: *Redimet hortos, aedes, urbana quaedam, quae possidet Antonius. Nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet aequo animo, quae ille helluo dissipavit.* Aquil. Rom. § 32, calls this figure *anadiplosis.* Cf. Madv. opusc. I. 205, Quintil. IX. 3. § 29.]

l. 28. [*Magnus* a name given to Pompeius by Sulla (Plut. Pomp. 13) B.C. 80, after his successes over Cn. Domitius and Hiarbas. It took the place of the obsolete Maximus, and was already found in the *Postumia gens.* Cic. (ad Att. II. 13. § 2) gives him the name B.C. 59. DRUMANN, IV. 335.]

[*subiecta.* Juv. III. 33: *et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.* Hence Porcius Latro in Sen. contr. 9: *vidi ego magni exercitus ducem* (Pomp.) *sine comite fugientem; vidi ambitiosa turba clientum limina deserta, sub domino sectore venalia.* See Gron. Obs. II. 6.]

[l. 31. *gemitus.* Hence Haterius ap. Sen. rhet. p. 218 Bip. *Proposito in rostris capite Ciceronis, cum unius metu omnia tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi liber fuit.* MADVIG.]

P. 27. [l. 1. *scelus sectionis* = scelestam sectionem. Verr. V. § 26: *diei brevitas conviviis, noctis longitudo stupris et flagitiis continebatur.* de or. II. § 237: *parcendum maxime est caritati hominum,* 'those whom we love.' NAEGELSB. cf. lines 5 and 6, *omnium—audacia,* 'all, however reckless.']

[l. 2. *accedere.* 'Hoc verbum in sectionibus usitatum. Corn. Nep. Att. 6. § 3: *ad hastam publicam numquam accessit.*' ABR. cf. Gronov. on Sen. epist. 101.]

nemo. Yet see Intr. n. 64. [The Anseres. Phil. XIII. § 11, where Cic. says, '*sunt alii plures fortasse, sed de mea memoria dilabuntur.*']

l. 3. *praesertim cum,* 'which is the more remarkable because—' 'and that though.' [§ 60. l. 13 n.]

§ 65. l. 8. *isto loco natus,* i.e. as *homo nobilis;* cf. Nep. Att. (above on l. 2). We see from the or. p. Rosc. Amer. in how bad repute the *sectores* stood in Sulla's time, esp. § 80: *Quid ais? vulgo occidebantur? Per quos et a quibus? Nonne cogitas te a sectoribus huc adductum esse? Nescimus per ista tempora eosdem fere sectores fuisse collorum et bonorum?* [on the expression *isto loco natus* (cf. *summo* or *nobili l. n.*) see Stürenb. ad Cic. p. Arch. p. 40.]

[*Pompei sector* (cf. § 39. l. 6: *cuius sectorem*), = Pompei bonorum sector. So Phil. XIII. § 30. infr. § 78: *praedes suos* (= bona eorum) *vendere.* Suet. Claud. 9: *Claudius venalis pependit,* i.e. his goods were advertised for sale. p. dom. sua, § 20: *cum lege nefaria Ptolemaeum* (i.e. Ptolemaei bona)...*publicasses.* cf. p. Sest. §§ 57 (where see Halm) and 59. NAEGELSB. Suet. Domit. 9.]

l. 9. *exsecratum,* 'an object of execration, worthy to be cursed.' [So our word 'accursed;' the part. pass. of some few words is thus used. Liv. II. 55. § 3: *nihil contemptius* (= more despicable), *si sint qui contemnant.* So *conspectus* 'visible' (Fabri on Liv. XXII. 4. § 6). So esp. in compounds with *in; indomitus,*

'unconquerable;' *inviolatus*, 'inviolable;' *inaccessus*, 'unapproachable.' NAEGELSB. *incuratus* (Hor.), *inlaudatus* (Virg. Gell.)]

c. XXVII. [l. 14. *igitur*, like *sed* (§ 5. l. 2 n.) = 'I say.' Zumpt, § 739. p. Sest. § 87: *Adiit ad rem publicam...Milo......adiit* igitur *T. Annius ad causam rei publicae.* Cf. ad fam. I. 9. § 9, Apul. de mag. 17. So *ergo*. Tusc. disp. I. § 14.]

l. 15. *de mimo*, from a mimic play, a farce, in which sudden reverses of fortune frequently occurred.

l. 16. *poëtam*, Cn. Naevius (Paulus Festi, p. 222).

[l. 17. *male*, etc. 'Ill got, ill spent.' Ferrar. cites Plaut. Poen. IV. 2. 22: *male partum male disperit.* On *male parta* = 'ea, quae sunt m. p.' cf. Madvig, § 425 a.]

§ 66. [l. 19. *non dico—sed.* § 9. l. 27 n.]

l. 20. *vini numerus.* So *magnus numerus frumenti, olei, fici*, and generally of natural products. ['stock.' On the position of the next words, so strange to our language, in which the two adjectives come first, and then the substantives, cf. Madvig, § 467 a. Nägelsbach cites Liv. X. 46. § 4: *frequenti publicorum ornatu locorum.* ib. 41. § 3: *omnis ille occulti paratus sacri.* Cic. N. D. II. § 93: *innumerabiles unius et viginti formae litterarum.*]

l. 21. *optimi* = optime facti. *vestis* stragula, tapestry, curtains etc. [cf. § 73, and § 67. l. 2.]

[l. 22. *illa quidem*, § 6. l. 19 n.] *luxuriosi*, which all bespoke the owner, not indeed a voluptuary, but a man of affluence. [Plut. Caes. 51. Corfinius rebuilt a house of Pompeius, as insufficient for him.] *abundantis.* By the peace of Misenum, B. C. 39, a sum of $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions of drachms was conceded to Sex. Pompeius as compensation for the loss of his patrimony.

§ 67. [l. 24. *Charybdis*, also from this passage in Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 28. Calenus (ibid. XLVI. 14) says, Cicero is always speaking of Sicily, as though we were likely to forget that he fled to that island.]

l. 25. *animal.* The later form of the legend converted the whirlpool into a monster.

[l. 29. *obsignatum.* Cic. de or. II. § 248: *Ridiculum est illud Neronianum vetus in furace servo*, 'Solum esse cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum nec occlusum;' *quod idem in bono servo dici solet.* ABR. Cf. Juv. XIV. 132.] *scriptum* 'inventoried.'

Apothecae, 'wine-bins.' Colum. I. 6. § 20: *quae superponebantur iis locis, unde plerumque fumus exoritur, quoniam vina celerius vetustescunt, quae fumi quodam tenore praecoquia maturitatem trahunt.* [Hor. carm. III. 8. 11: *amphorae fumum bibere institutae.* ABR.]

[l. 30. *mimi.* Plut. Ant. 9 and 21, Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 28.]

P. 28. [l. 1. *suggerebantur.* There came to swell the total waste—for Ant. had not always a run of luck—losses at play.]

[l. 2. *Conchyliatis* etc. Quintil. VIII. 4. § 25: *Quid? M. Tullius de M. Antonii luxuria tantum fingere saltem potuisset, quantum ostendit dicendo*, 'Conchyliatis...videres'? conchyliata peristromata, *et* Cn. Pompei, *terunt* servi, *et* in cellis, *nihil dici potest ultra; et necesse est tamen infinito plus in domino cogitare.*]

[l. 3. *peristromatis.* This is the ordinary form of the dat. and abl. of Gr. neuters in *ma.* Thus *poëmatis* (not *poëmatibus*), *epigrammatis, peripetasmatis* etc. The grammarians cite from Cic. and others *poëmatorum* etc. RUDDIM. I. 99. Nägelsbach has collected the principal Greek words employed by Cic.; in this speech we have the terms of business *apotheca, syngrapha, chirographa;* the naturalised *diadema, tyrannus, tyrannis, poëta, rhetor;* the Gr. name *tetrarchia* to express a Gr. relation; *gynaecium* scoffingly of Fulvia's 'boudoir.' Cicero was on the whole a rigid purist, cf. Acad. I. § 25, Tusc. disp. I. § 15, de off. I. § 111. NAEGELSB. add orat. § 132.]

[*cellis.* Hor. S. I. 8. 8, 9: *huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis | conservus vili portanda locabat in arca.* In the back parts of the house and in the garrets.]

[l. 5. *non modo—sed.* § 32. l. 13.]

[l. 7. *potuisset*, not, as usual, *potuit*, because the meaning is, 'It would have been able to devour cities and kingdoms, *if it had had them.*' Madvig, § 348 c, Obs.]

§ 68. [l. 8. *aedes.* On the site, see Suet. gram. 15: *in Carinis ad Telluris* (infr. § 89 n.) *aedem, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat.* cf. id. Tiber. 15, App. b. c. II. 126, or. de harusp. resp. § 49, Dio XLIV. 22. Hence the jest of Sex. Pompeius, Vell. II. 77. § 1: *cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita* [B. C. 39]; *qui haud absurdo, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit,* '*in* Carinis *suis se cenam dare,*' *referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur.* (The same jest in Dio XLVIII. 38, and Aur. Vict. vir. illustr. 84.) BECKER, I. 524. See too on Antonius' purchase of the goods and house of Pomp. Plut. Ant. 10, 21, 32, Calen. ap. Dion. XLVI. 14, Cic. ib. XLV. 28. In this speech §§ 39, 62.]

hortos, sc. occupavit, as continuation of the foregoing *invasit in fortunas.* [infr. § 109. l. 22. Two *horti* of Pomp. are mentioned, *horti superiores* (Asc. in Mil. pp. 37, 50. Orell.), and one probably near his theatre in the Campus Martius (Plut. Pomp. 44). Becker, I. 616, 617. In the *horti Pompeiani* Ant. received the young Octavianus (Vell. II. 60. § 3). *Horti*, pl. 'a park,' or pleasure-garden with statues, etc. *hortus* rather 'a

kitchen-garden.' Plin. h. n. XIX. § 51: *Iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe delicias, agros villasque possident....Romae quidem per se hortus ager pauperis erat; ex horto plebei macellum, quanto innocentiore victu!*]

l. 9. *etiam.* 'so much as to —.'

[l. 11 seq. *quam domum—hac in domo.* On the repetition of the substantive cf. Madvig, § 315 a, n. 2, Zumpt, § 743, Oud. on Caes. b. Gall. II. 18. § 1. *Dies* is perhaps more commonly repeated than not. Cic. p. Sull. § 43: *dico locum in orbe terrarum esse nullum, quo in loco—.* On the *hac* see Madvig on Cic. de fin. III. § 12: 'in huiusmodi pronominum coniunctione, ubi, praecedente sententia relativa, aut contrarium aliquid in eadem re notatur aut consequens, recte *hic* poni potest, re tamquam propius admota, ut or. p. Cael. § 78: *qua in civitate....in hac civitate.*']

[l. 14. *nihil sapias.* § 8. l. 26.]

c. XXVIII. l. 15. *vestibulo.* Becker's Gallus, II. 148, and esp. 150. [Gellius (XVI. 5. § 2) says that many in his day thought, 'vestibulum' *esse partem domus primorem, quam vulgus* 'atrium' *vocat.* § 3: *C. Aelius Gallus in libro de significatione verborum, quae ad ius civile pertinent, secundo* 'vestibulum' *esse dicit non in ipsis aedibus neque partem aedium, sed locum ante ianuam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad aedes est, cum dextra sinistraque ianuam tectaque sunt viae iuncta atque ipsa ianua procul a via est, area vacanti intersita.* 'Forecourt.']

l. 16. *rostra.* Plin. h. n. XXXV. 2. § 7: *Aliae foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant, adfixis hostium spoliis, quae nec emptori refigere liceret, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipsae domus. Erat haec stimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis cotidie inbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* [Iul. Capit. Gord. 3: *extat silva eius memorabilis quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompei.* ibid. 1: *Gordianus senior...Romae Pompeianam domum possidens.* Virg. VII. 183, 186: *multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma | ....spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis.* Cf. Suet. Ner. 38. ABR. The beaks were of vessels captured in the war with the pirates, B. C. 67.]

[*adspexisti.* Madvig, § 335 b, n. 1; id. on Cic. de fin. V. § 41: 'ubi aliquid certo tempore fieri solere significatur, idque tempus actionis praegressae absolutione notatur (in quo Latini diligentius actionum tempora distinguunt, nos fere, tamquam eiusdem temporis sint, bis praesenti tempore utimur), ibi Latine sic loquor, de or. II. § 24: *cum* (id est, *quotiens*) *huc veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere...delectat.* de fin. IV. § 38: *sensus, cum accessit ad naturam, tuetur illam* (significatur enim ea progressio, quam in omnibus factam esse et fieri solere intellegitur). Cf. ib. III. § 63: *in ean-*

demque cum se recepit, includitur.' See more there, pp. 690, 800. In his 'Bemerkungen u. s. w.', p. 65 n., the following exx. are added. Caes. b. Gall. VI. 19. § 3: *cum...decessit,...conveniunt.* or. Catil. IV. § 12: *Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum,... tum...perhorresco* ('when I picture to myself—, I shudder'). de off. II. § 19: *cum reflavit, affligimur.* Quintil. XII. 6. § 5: *non nulli senes in schola facti stupent novitate, cum in iudicia venerunt.*]

[l. 18. *ut es.* § 43. l. 27: *si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit.* Very frequent in confirmation of suppositions; 'if, as is *really* the case'; but as *esse* itself contains the notion of *real* existence, it is not necessary to express our 'really,' 'in fact.' de leg. I. § 17: *sit ista res magna, sicut est.* p. Rosc. Am. § 22: *quamvis ille felix sit, sicut est.* Brut. § 38: *suavis, sicuti fuit, videri maluit quam gravis.* Sometimes *certe* is added, e. g. ibid. § 76: *sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior.* SEYFFERT ad Lael. § 24, p. 160. p. Lig. § 13. or. § 144. KOCH.]

l. 21. *furens* (cf. § 65, *tantus te* stupor *oppressit vel, ut verius dicam, tantus* furor) 'distracted,' deadened by intemperance to all feeling, even to that of fear; still remorse must sometimes break your sensual sleep by fits of actual madness, (*furere* l. 23). [cf. § 101: *furiosam vinolentiam tuam.* ep. ad fam. XII. 25. § 4, cited on § 63. l. 18. GARAT.]

obiecta sit, prob. corruption of *obiecta est* (= *obiectast*); cf. l. 16, (*cum adspexisti*).

[l. 22. *excitari.* Hor. epod. 5. 91 seq.: *quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero, | nocturnus occurram Furor | petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus | quae vis deorum est manium, | et inquietis assidens praecordiis | pavore somnos auferam.* GARAT. Juv. XIII. 221.]

§ 69. [l. 23. *Me quidem,* 'as for me, I pity' etc. *par.* etc. de orat. III. § 168: *ex parte totum, ut pro aedificiis cum* parietes *et* tecta *dicimus.*]

[l. 25. *pudicum.* Plut. Pomp. 40.]

l. 26. *ex optimo more.* p. Deiot. § 20: *quid nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina?*

[l. 30. *stabula.* Val. Max. VII. 7. § 7: 'Q. Metellus as *praetor urbanus* refused to admit a *leno* into possession of a legacy, *quia...fori ac lupanaris separandam condicionem existimavit, nec...factum illius comprobare voluit, qui fortunas suas in stabulum contaminatum proiecerat.* ABR.] *conclavia,* 'dining-rooms,' as Verr. IV. § 58. *pop.* 'tap-rooms.' [Spartian. Pescenn. Nig. 3: *pro tricliniis popinas habent, pro cubiculis meritoria.* C. Gracchus ap. Gell. XV. 12. § 2, (a singular proof of the general corruption even in his day): *Versatus sum in provincia... Nulla apud me fuit popina neque pueri eximia facie stabant et in convivio liberi vestri modestius erant, quam apud principia.* LAMBIN.]

l. 32. *mimam.* Cytheris, § 20. The common reading *illam suam* is written over a hiatus in the cod. Vat.

[Gaius (Dig. XXII. 2. 2. § 1) gives the two technical *formulae* of divorce *tuas res tibi habeto* and *t. r. t. agito.* Abr. quotes Mart. X. 41. 1, 2: *veterem, Proculeia, maritum | deseris atque iubes res sibi habere suas.* Plaut. Amph. III. 2. 47 seq., Quintil. decl. 262. Add Juv. VI. 146: *collige sarcinulas...et exi.* cf. Petron. 81. Mart. XI. 104. 1: *vade foras.* Ov. epist. 12. 134: *cede domo.* Titinn. Gemina ap. Non. s. v. facessere: *res suas procuret, aedibus facessat.* Apul. met. V. 26: *confestim toro meo diverte tibique res tuas habeto.*]

ex duodecim tabulis. If these words belong to what follows, we learn from this passage that the formality of taking away the *claves*, whose *custodia* was entrusted to the wife, was prescribed by the 12 tables. [Ambros. epist. 6. § 3: *mulier offensa claves remisit, domum revertit.* MANUT. Rossbach d. röm. Ehe 352.]

P. 29. l. 1. *exegit* = foras exire iussit. cf. § 99. *eiecisti.* In the enumeration of these forms there is a bitter sarcasm, as the divorce itself is only a fiction of the orator's.

[On the *asyndeton.* cf. § 84. l. 31. *sudat, pallet.*]

§ 70. l. 5. *hoc est dicere.* cf. Verr. IV. § 45.

[l. 8. *avus.* Intr. § 1. cos. B.C. 99.]

l. 10. *conlega,* in the consulship. B.C. 63. [Intr. § 2.] *nisi si.* or. Catil. II. § 6: *nisi vero si quis est.* The use of *si* after *nisi,* which then becomes a kind of adverb ('ausser') is attested by indisputable examples in Cic. (Hand Tursell. IV. 239 seq.). It is especially frequent in *nisi si quis.*

c. XXIX. § 71. l. 12. *earum partium,* of that political character.

l. 13. *ipsas tuas partes,* 'your proper (specific) work. [Verr. IV. § 93: *cives Romani...permulti in illo oppido coniunctissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt.* 'with the Agrigentines *proper.*' NAEGELSB.]

[l. 14. *natum.* § 53.]

l. 15. *Cui bello,* quamquam a te conflato. [On the *adversative* force of the relative Nägelsbach cites Liv. XLIII. 20. § 2: *legati benigne auditi sunt; qui* (= and yet they) *responsum sine effectu tulerunt.—propter timiditatem.* § 75 seq. Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 40.]

l. 16. *libidines,* which kept you in Rome.

l. 18. *antesignanus.* Intr. n. 52.—*L. Domitium.* § 27 n. [On the nobility of the family cf. Suet. Ner. 1: *functi...consulatibus septem, triumpho censuraque duplici.* ABR.]

[l. 21. *fortasse servasset.* § 116 n.]

[l. 22. *quid fuit causae, cur.* Madvig, § 366. n. 6. cf. supr. § 56. l. 28.]

l. 23. *in Africam.* Intr. § 18. *non seq.* Intr. § 19. [*cum praes.* Here in its common sense 'especially as.' On the other sense, 'and that though,' cf. § 60. l. 13 n.]

l. 24. *Itaque* etc. (cf. *appellatus es de pecunia,* l. 29) implies that Cæsar insisted on the payment because Antonius took no part in the campaign. But see Intr. n. 67.

[l. 25. *obtinuisti.* § 3. l. 11 n.]

[l. 26. *quo numero.* 'in what account;' so *aliquo n. esse, parentis n. esse.* Gronov. Obs. I. 6. GRAEV. So in Gr. orac. ap. Tzetz. Chil. IX. 496: οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ. ABR.]

l. 27. *quaestor.* § 50. [The relation of the quæstor to his prætor was compared to that of a son to his father. ep. ad fam. XIII. 10. § 1, 26. § 1, div. in Caec. §§ 46, 61, 65, p. Planc. § 11, p. red. in sen. § 35, etc. ABR. and Becker, II. pt. 2. p. 358. Add Plin. epist. IV. 15. § 9, VIII. 23. § 5, X. 11 (= 27). § 1.]

[*mag. eq.* § 62. Intr. n. 57. *belli.* § 55.]

l. 29. *filius,* prob. because he was named as *heres secundus.* Intr. § 34.

[App. II. 143. (on the opening of Cæsar's will), 'what excited the most commiseration was the discovery that Dec. Brutus, one of the murderers, ἐγέγραπτο παῖς among the second heirs.' cf. 146. ad fin.]

[*appellatus.* The proper term for demanding payment of a debt, 'dunning.' ad Att. I. 8. § 3: *Tulliola...tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat.*] Tac. ann. VI. 17.

[l. 30. *pro domo* etc. § 68. *sect.* § 39. l. 6.]

§ 72. [l. 31. *contra te,* sc. dicere.]

P. 30. [l. 1. *pecuniam,* sc. petet? cf. l. 28.]

l. 3. *causam.* § 53. A fine προσωποποιία (*ficta alienae personae oratio*); for the merits on which Ant. is made to rest his claim were grievous crimes.

leges, as tribune. § 56. Intr. n. 42.

[l. 4. *imp. pop. R.* also in Liv. XXVIII. 42. § 21. GRONOV. obs. IV. 14.]

l. 8. *Ius* = quod ius erat. Plaut. Pseud. V. 2. 16: *ius petis, fateor.*

l. 9. *quid ad rem?* not necessarily, 'quid id ad rem?' p. Rosc. Am. § 92: *ubi tunc eras? 'Romae: verum quid ad rem?'* Cf. p. Rosc. com. § 34: *quid ad te?* Verr. I. § 116: *quid ad praetorem?*

§ 73. l. 10. *excussis,* strong expression for *reiectis.* [Tibull.

II. 6. 12: *excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.* Madvig reads *exclusis.*]

praedes. § 78 n.

[l. 11. *repente.* Madvig adds *est.* See his opusc. I. 207.]

tabula, in qua res suas proscripserat. [Intr. § 19. *Tabulae auctionariae* (or. Catil. II. § 18) 'placards' 'advertisements of sales.' e. g. ep. ad Qu. fr. II. 6. § 5: *tabulam proscripsit,* SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITVRVM. de off. III. § 68: *si tu aedes proscribas, tabulam tamquam plagam ponas, domum propter vitia vendas.* ib. § 55: *si qui proscribunt* VILLAM BONAM BENEQUE AEDIFICATAM. Also called *libellus, album,* or *titulus.* Sen. de ben. IV. 12. § 3: *spondeo pro iudicato et suspensis amici bonis libellum deicio creditoribus eius me obligaturus.* Sales were also announced by a *praeco.* REIN.]

l. 14. *partem Miseni.* § 48 n.

[l. 15. *adspectus.* Madvig ad Cic. de fin. V. § 48: 'Alibi... *conspectus* tantum de conspiciendi aut actione aut facultate poni solet; (facultas significatur, cum in conspectum aliquid venire dicitur); forma et species rei oculis subiectae ter saltem a Cicerone *aspectus* appellata est. N. D. II. § 158, Catil. IV. § 11 etc.']

l. 16. *vestis.* § 66.

[l. 17. *vasa.* Plut. Ant. 9, speaks of his display of gold cups.]

§ 74. l. 20. *heredes L. Rubrii,* who claimed a part of what was offered for sale. [§§ 40, 41, 103. Intr. § 19.]

decreto Caesaris, to whom they had explained by what means Ant. had usurped their inheritance. That this appeal occasioned the prohibition of the sale, is perhaps a rhetorical fiction. Cæsar's only motive may have been to avoid giving offence.

[l. 25. *in Hispaniam.* Intr. §§ 18—20.]

[l. 27. *gladiator.* § 63. Phil. VII. § 17: *quem gladiatorem non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane et Latine loquuntur.*]

l. 28. *rudem,* sc. accepisti? [Madvig opusc. I. 205: 'Habet hic locus imitationem familiaris percontationis et sermocinationis, in qua in vehementia aliqua orationis (ut in admiratione) et simplici sententiae forma non rara est huiusmodi verbi, facile ex rei natura intellegendi omissio.' supr. § 72: *A me C. Caesar pecuniam?* On de fin. I. § 9. Madvig adds, ad Att. IV. 8 B. § 2: *vel quod ab iisdem, vel quod praeter opinionem, vel quod viri boni nusquam. Unum dissimile, quod huic merito. Nam de ipso casu, nescio an illud melius. Quid enim hoc miserius, quam —.* orat.

§ 20, de off. III. § 109.—The *rudis* was the wooden sword given to discharged gladiators (*rudiarii*); Ov. am. II. 9. 22: *tutaque deposito sumitur ense rudis.* Juv. VII. 171.]

[l. 29. *timidus.* § 71. l. 15.]

c. XXX. § 75. [l. 32. *Hispaniam—tuto.* Intr. § 20.]

P. 31. [l. 4. *in Thes.* Intr. § 14. *Afr. Hisp.* ib. § 18. On the asyndeton, cf. Madvig, § 434. n. 1. Cic. orat. § 36 (cited by Nägelsb.): *In picturis alios* h o r r i d a i n c u l t a o p a c a, *contra alios* n i t i d a l a e t a c o l l u s t r a t a *delectant.* Verr. IV. § 77 Zumpt.]

l. 5. Cic. himself (ad Att. XVI. 11. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56, n. *) notices the irony in this commendation of Dolabella.

[l. 6. *nollem,* sc. adfuisset.]

l. 7. *sed tamen* etc. = sed tamen, quamquam consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. [§ 110. l. 6. n.]

a primo, as ep. ad Att. XVI. 7. § 4: *utinam a primo ita tibi esset visum!* Tusc. I. § 54. de rep. II. § 45. [Adjectives are often used substantively after prepositions in expressions which denote time, as l. 3: *ad extremum* (cf. p. Caecin. § 46, p. Cluent. § 6, Liv. IX. 8). Cic. de fin. IV. § 32: *suam vim retineat a primo ad extremum.* So *ad ultimum, in perpetuum, ex praeterito, in futurum.* NAEGELSB. See Madvig on Cic. de fin. III. § 32, p. 401, Dav. and Walker, ibid. Cf. Seyffert ad Lael. p. 73. Garatoni adds Gronov. on Sen. de vita beata, 7, and quaest. nat. V. 14, Graev. on Cic. ad Att. IX. 6.]

l. 8. *quid es?* as contrasted with Dolabella, who at any rate proved himself *homo constans in sua causa.*

l. 9. *primum* does not belong to *tum,* but is correlative of *praeterea.*

esto. 'Good.' i. e. I will not lay any stress upon this; for it may be said that this claim did not touch you more nearly than the rest of Cæsar's party. cf. Seyffert, schol. Lat. I. 152. [cf. § 30. l. 10 n.]

[l. 10. *repetebant* etc. Cf. Phil. XIII. § 34, Dio XLV. 9, 10, 28.]

[l. 11. *quae,* in the neuter, though all the antecedents are masc. or fem. Madvig, § 214. n. c. Cic. Tusc. disp. I. § 56: *quam vitis, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicimus vivere.*]

l. 14. *aequi* anticipates the following *erat aequissimum;* you might be *fairly* expected to bear the brunt of the fight, if the term 'fair' can be applied to the case at all.

[l. 15. *sectorem.* § 39. l. 6 n.]

[l. 16. *Narbone,* Intr. § 20. [*mensas.* Such scenes seem not to have been uncommon. Cic. de fin. II. § 23: *Nolim enim mihi fingere asotos, ut soletis, qui in mensam vomant, et qui de*

conviviis auferantur crudique postridie se rursus ingurgitent. Abr. Supr. § 63 n.]

[l. 17. *dimicaret* = dimicare debebat. § 86. l. 16 n.]

§ 76. l. 18. *etiam.* Phil. xiii. § 37: *Is etiam queritur condiciones suas repudiatas.* Verr. v. § 57. [*quaerebat,* in his speech 19 Sept. Intr. § 56. On the change of person, cf. § 17.]

[l. 19. *revertissem.* On the form cf. § 59. l. 4 n.]

l. 20. *nuper,* in or. Phil. i. [§§ 7 seq. Cf. Intr. § 50.]

[l. 21. *Kal. Ian.* New year's day, 43; Cic. had intended to remain during the latter part of the year 44 at Athens, and to return when his friends Hirtius and Pansa should assume the consulship on that day. Plut. Cic. 43. Cic. Phil. i. § 6.]

[l. 22. *quod quaer.* 'as for that question of yours.'] *quo modo.* If Ant. really put the question in this form, he perhaps taunted Cic. for coming only to conceal himself the next day (1 Sept. Otherwise his friends and the people gave him a very cordial reception. Plut. Cic. 43). Probably however Ant. only asked the reason (*cur*) of Cicero's return, and Cic. distorts the question in order to upbraid Ant. with his discreditable freak.

[l. 23. *luce—tenebris.* On the abl. of time cf. Madvig, § 276, Zumpt, § 475. *luce* is very frequent. cf. Drakenb. on Liv. xxxviii. 36. § 4: *luce inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tenebrae obortae fuerant.* Of *tenebris,* which is here suggested by the opposition to *luce,* Klotz gives the exx. Tibull. i. 6. 59: *haec mihi te adducit tenebris.* id. ii. 1. 76, Ov. amor. i. 6. 10.]

[*cum.* Cf. l. 32. Verr. v. § 40: *responsum dedisti, cum esses cum tunica pulla et pallio.* Hand Tursell. ii. 144, Gron. Obs. iv. 25, p. 530 Fr.]

[*calceis et toga,* the full dress of the Roman citizen, worn in courts of law, by clients at their patrons' levees, and on all public occasions. The cumbrous folds of the *toga* and the close fit of the *calceus* made them irksome. Juv. i. 119, iii. 149, 172. Tertull. de pall. 5: *calceos....proprium togae tormentum.*—Calenus in Dio xlvi. 18, retorts these sarcasms upon Cic., 'the naked, the perfumed, with a tunic reaching to his ancles, and thin *laenae* (χλανίδια), who scents and combs out his grey hairs etc.' See the curious defence of the young nobles and even senators, who appeared *deliciarum causa et voluptatis* in *pallium, mitella, chlamys,* and *crepidae.* (p. Rabir. Post. § 25 seq.) Cf. Quintil. v. 13. § 39.]

[*nullis nec—nec.* Cf. § 2. l. 14. *non video nec—nec.*]

l. 24. *Gallicis,* sc. soleis, slippers, used in-doors. In Hadrian's time T. Castricius, a teacher of rhetoric (Gell. N. A. xiii. 22 [21]), *cum me forte praesente, usus enim sum eo magistro, discipulos quosdam suos senatores vidisset die feriato tunicis et* lacernis *indutos et* Gallicis *calciatos:* 'equidem,' *inquit,* 'maluissem, vos togatos esse; pigitum est, cinctos saltem esse et paenulatos. Sed si hic vester huiusmodi vestitus de multo iam usu ignoscibilis est, soleatos tamen vos, populi Romani senatores, per urbis vias ingredi nequaquam decorum est, non hercle vobis minus, quam illi tum fuit, cui hoc M. Tullius pro turpi crimine obiectavit.' The young fops, thus *Romane et severe* rebuked, asked why he called them *soleati,* whereas they wore *Gallicae,* not *soleae.* He replied, *profecto scite atque incorrupte:* 'omnia enim ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vincta sunt, soleas dixerunt, non numquam voce Graeca crepidulas. Gallicas autem verbum esse opinor novum, non diu ante aetatem M. Ciceronis usurpari coeptum, itaque ab eo ipso positum est in secunda Antonianarum *cum Gallicis...cucurristi* (here l. 32 seq.). Neque in ea significatione id apud quemquam alium scriptum lego gravioris dumtaxat auctoritatis scriptorem; sed ut dixi crepidas et crepidulas, prima syllaba correpta, id genus calciamentum appellaverunt, quod Graeci κρηπῖδας vocant.' *lacerna,* a mantle fastened by a clasp (*fibula*), not held together by a girdle. Becker's Gallus, iii. 123. [Heind. on Hor. sat. ii. 7. 55. Juv. iii. 148.]

[l. 25. *ut videris.* We say, 'as *it* seems;' the personal constr. is the most common in Latin (Madvig, § 400; Zumpt. § 380), even in parenthetical sentences. Cic. Lael. § 9: *sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas.* See Seyffert there, p. 41. Matthiä Gr. Gr. § 297. R. S. adds Elmsl. ad Eur. Herac. 681.]

[*Ne.* § 3. l. 17 n. There, as here, and almost always in Cic., it is followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun. See Hand Turs. iv. 25.]

[l. 28. *mag. eq.* § 62. Mark the tense *fuisse.* Ant. had at this time (b. c. 45) ceased to hold the office.

[l. 29. *prox. an.* b. c. 44.]

[l. 29 seq. *peteres—rogares* 'were a candidate—or rather a suppliant.' The object of *petere* is the thing sought, that of *rogare* the person from whom it is sought. *Petere* is to claim a right, *rogare* to entreat for a favour. So in the proverb, Verr. iv. § 12: *Malo emere quam* rogare, 'rather buy than beg.' p. Planc. § 25: Rogatio *ipsa semper est gratiosissima, quae est officio necessitudinis coniuncta maxime. Neque enim ego sic* rogabam, *ut* petere *viderer, quia familiaris est meus* etc. ad fam. ii. 6. § 1: *grave est enim homini prudenti* petere *aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id quod* petat *exigere magis quam* rogare *et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur.* On the mode of Antonius' election, cf. § 10. l. 25, § 79.]

l. 30. *e qua*, i. e. by services rendered in the province as propraetors, quaestors and *legati*. Cf. the phrase *ex provincia triumphare*. [Madvig retains *a*; and the mention of *colon.* and *mun.* (see next note) makes it more likely that *petere* is 'to canvass for.']

[l. 32. *petere consulatum solebamus*. Cic. writing in the year 65, i. e. in the year before that in which he offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, says (ad Att. I. I. § 2) *fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia,... excurremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Ianuario revertamur.* It had become customary to canvass in person the *coloniae* and *municipia* (Caes. b. Gall. VIII. 50). BECKER. II. pt. 2. p. 42.]

c. XXXI. § 77. P. 32. [l. 1. *levitatem*. cf. Gell., quoted on l. 13.]

l. 2. *Saxa rubra*, a village in Etruria on the *via Flaminia*, between Rome and Narnia. It stood near the Cremera, where the 300 Fabii fell. [Now *Prima Porta*, 9 miles from Rome. It evidently derived its name from the redness of its tufo rocks. Mr. BUNBURY.]

l. 4. *vesperam*, the same form or. in Catil. II. § 6.

cisio. p. Rosc. Amer. § 19: *Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta milia passuum cisiis pervolavit*, where Schol. 'cis. genus vehiculi Gallici.' [Virg. catalect. 8. 3: *volantis impetum cisi.* It had two wheels (Non. II. 139). Auson. epist. 8. 6, 8: *vel cisio triiugi, si placet, insilias* | ....*propere dum modo iam venias.* Becker's Gallus, III. 9.]

[l. 5. *capite obvoluto.* In the city it was not usual for men to wear any covering on the head. In bad weather the *cucullus* ('cowl,' hood) which was attached to the *lacerna* (Mart. XIV. 132 and 139) was drawn over the head. So too by way of disguise (Juv. VIII. 145): *nocturnus adulter* | *tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.* See Becker's Gallus, I. 120, III. 127, 128. Cf. the 'domino' of modern masquerades.]

[l. 6. *Marco.* Hence it appears that slaves, when speaking of their master, used the *praenomen*, which was also used by relations and intimate friends. Hor. sat. II. 5. 32, 33: *Quinte, puta, aut Publi—gaudent praenomine molles* | *auriculae—, tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum.*] Mommsen, röm. Forsch. I. 23.

l. 7. *ad eam* Fulviam. [On the omission of *deducitur*, or some such word, Nägelsb. compares the ellipsis of *ire*, de off. III. § 80: *et ceteri quidem alius alio: Marius a subselliis in rostra recta.* ad Qu. fr. II. 3. § 2: *nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam; Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum ne*—.]

[*epistulam.* Ritschl, Proleg. XCVI. '*u* (tenui) pro *o* in *epistula* semper.']

[l. 10. *mima* i. e. Cytheris.]

l. 11. *illim*, from which form *illinc* (= *illimce*) is derived. [cf. *exim*, *istim*, etc. On the use of the pronominal adv. 'from that quarter,' where a person is meant, cf. Hor. carm. I. 12. 17: *unde* (= a quo parente) *nil maius generatur ipso.* Hor. s. I. 6. 12, Plaut. Most. 997, Ov. met. VII. 515, 718. Cf. Halm on Verr. IV. § 29.]

[l. 13. *nequam*. Gell. VII. 11. tells us that in his day *levitas* was used as = '*inconstantia*,' '*mutabilitas*;' and *nequitia* as = '*sollertia*,' '*astutia*;' whereas *veterum hominum qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt* 'leves' *dixerunt, quos vulgo nunc viles et nullo honore dignos dicimus*,...et 'nequam' *hominem nihili, neque rei neque frugis bonae, quod genus Graeci fere ἄσωτον vel ἀκόλαστον dicunt.* He then cites this passage, with others, and defines 'nequitia' *luxus vitae prodigus effususque.*]

l. 15. '*Catamitum*' *pro Ganymede dixerunt.* Paulus Festi, p. 44.

[l. 17. *terror*, 'fright,' and *metus*, 'apprehension,' have their strict sense here; the city was scared by the sudden apparition of Ant.; Italy was not reassured for many days. Cf. Tusc. disp. IV. § 19: 'terrorem' (definiunt) *metum concutientem, ex quo fit, ut...terrorem pallor et tremor et dentium crepitus consequatur.*]

l. 18. *perturbasti*. Intr. § 20. n. 77.

§ 78. *causam amoris*, i. e. amorem causam cur redires habuisti. [Just as we say 'there was the motive of passion.' See on this gen. of definition (instead of a noun in apposition) Zumpt, § 425; Madvig, § 286, who cites (*Bemerkungen*, p. 71 n.) divin. in Caec. §§ 6, 59. (*causa necessitudinis*); p. Sull. § 23, in Catil. II. § 24 (*urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum*); p. Planc. § 30. Add Ov. met. IV. 520: *seu dolor hoc fecit, seu sparsi causa veneni.* Cic. N. D. I. § 54: *ora ultimi.* p. Sull. § 77: *praesidium pudoris.* ib. § 21: *regnum consulatus.* de fin. III. § 41: *crescendi accessio* (where see Madvig). p. red. in sen. § 11: *aram tribunatus.* p. Mur. § 23: *virtutibus continentiae, gravitatis* etc. Liv. I. 13. § 2: *liberum progeniem.* Tac. Germ. 2: *vocabulum Germaniae* 'the term G.' id. hist. II. 21. § 1: *pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus.*]

l. 19. *L. Plancus.* At his setting out for Spain (late in 46) Caesar had named several city prefects, who with M. Lepidus the *mag. equitum* conducted the affairs of government. As one of these *praefecti* L. Munatius Plancus discharged, as we see from this passage, the functions of *praetor urbanus.* [See letters to and from Plancus, ad fam. X. 1—24.] Cic. says elsewhere (ad Att. XII. 18 a. § 1) of this arrival of Antonius: *opinor propter praedes suos adcucurrisse.*

l. 20. *praedes.* Every judicial security (*satisdatio*) was to be given by sureties (*praedes*) and included their *praedia*; hence

the common formula *populo cavere praedibus praediisque.* After these securities had been duly given to the community (*populus*), i. e., according to our ideas, to the state, and received by the magistrate, then, not the debtor himself, but the *praedes* were held responsible, and their *praedia* were sold without more ado. On the securities *praedibus praediisque* see Th. Mommsen *die Stadtrechte von Salpensa und Malaca*, p. 466 seq. [In the transactions of the Saxon *Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Vol. III. (1855). 4to.—On the expression *praedes tuos venderet*, cf. § 65. l. 8. n. Plaut. most. I. 1. 11: *quem absentem comes.*]

l. 21. *rei tuae*, i. e. not *mandatu Caesaris.*

[l. 22. *etiam.* the very populace. So § 14. l. 7. *etiam* is to be taken with *nobis.*]

c. XXXII. l. 25. *isti redisti*, 'went and came.' § 89: *irent redirent.*

l. 26. *fortem*, for the war was already ended.

l. 27. *nescio quo modo.* Intr. § 20 ad fin.

l. 28. *Habebat hoc.* in Pis. § 81: *habet hoc virtus, ut fortes viros species eius et pulchritudo etiam in hoste posita delectet.* Hor. s. I. 3. 3 etc. [Plin. ep. VI. 9. § 2, paneg. 83. § 1. SEYFFERT.]

[*quem* etc. § 50.]

§ 79. l. 32. *iussus es.* Intr. § 24. [infr. § 80. l. 10. On the *personal* use of the verd *iubeor* (we say 'it was ordered that you &c.') see Madvig, § 396. n. 3, who (*Bemerkungen*, p. 78) carefully distinguishes *iubeor hoc facere*, 'I receive orders, am ordered to do this' (corresponding to *iubeo te facere*), from *haec fieri iubentur*, where *iubeor* means 'orders are given respecting me,' (corresponding to *iubeo haec fieri*). He cites Liv. XLII. 31: *in Macedoniam sena milia peditum scribi iussa.* Cic. de rep. II. c. 2: *Romulus dicitur exponi iussus esse.* Suet. Tib. 11: *iussique sunt omnes aegri in publicam porticum deferri.* He also compares the construction of *prohibeor.* Liv. III. 28. § 7: *ad prohibenda circumdari opera.* id. XXII. 60. § 3: *nec prohibendos ex privato redimi.* Cf. note on *ut videris*, § 76. l. 25.]

renuntiari. The last solemn act in the *comitia* for elections; for though Cæsar disposed of the consulships, there was still a formal election and *renuntiatio* by the presiding magistrate. Thus when Q. Fabius died suddenly at the end of B.C. 45, C. Caninius Rebilus, who was nominated consul for the last day of the year, was regularly 'declared' in the *comitia.* (ep. ad fam. VII. 30. § 1).

P. 33. l. 1. *de Dolabella*, about your treatment of Dolabella.

inpulsus, ut consulatum peteret. [On the asyndeton cf. § 75. l. 4.]

[l. 3. *Ille*, Cæsar.]

l. 4. *receptum*, 'what he had undertaken to give him.' Verr. V. § 139: *satis est factum promisso nostro et recepto.* Plancus ep. ad fam. X. 21. § 1: *omnia ei et petenti recepi et ultro pollicitus sum.*

[l. 6. *Kal. Ian.* B.C. 44. cf. §§ 76, 99, Intr. § 24. The new consuls assumed office on New year's day first B.C. 153, and thenceforward (Becker, II. pt. 2. p. 106). Cf. Ov. fast. I. 81, 82, III. 147, epist. ex Pont. IV. 9. 59, 60. ib. ep. 4. 23, 25, 35, 36: *ergo ubi, Iane biceps, longum reseraveris annum,* | ...*purpura Pompeium summi velabit honoris.* | ...*curia te excipiet, patresque e more vocati* | *intendent aures ad tua verba suas.*]

l. 7. *paratius.* p. Rosc. Am. § 72. Brut. § 241: *is ad dicendum veniebat magis audacter quam parate.*

§ 80. [l. 10. *profisc.* for the Parthian war. Intr. § 24.]

iussurum, chosen as an invidious term.

[l. 11. *regem.* Memmius in Sall. Jug. 31. § 26: *impune quaelibet facere, id est regem esse.* Scipio in Liv. XXVII. 19. § 4: *regium nomen, alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile esse.* Cic. de off. III. § 83 (of Cæs.). SEYFFERT. Cf. Plut. Ant. 12, Brut. 10.]

[*qui*, 'although he'—]

l. 12. *sed.* § 5 n.

[l. 13. *augur.* Intr. §§ 8, 24.]

l. 14. *inpedire*, ne fierent (l. 18 n.). *vitiare*, facta; disturb them by *obnuntiation*, i. e. by declaring that there was a *vitium*, which made them null and void.

§ 81. l. 17. *sacerdotii* auguratus.

l. 18. *minus* etc. Cic. justly reproaches Ant. as ignorant of augural law, in trusting to his augurship rather than to his consulship as a means of vitiating the election. The auspices, the signs of the divine will, were supposed in political matters to be given to the magistrates chosen *auspicato*, not immediately to the augurs, who, unless invested with some office of state, were *homines privati*, not entitled to interrogate the auspices independently on any *res publica.* They could only observe and interpret at such times as they were called in by a magistrate. The formula by which they were consulted was (Cic. de divin. II. § 71): *te mihi in auspicio esse volo.* After the augur had taken his observations, he reported to the magistrate the result, either by the formula *silentium esse videtur*, i. e. there is no *vitium* of any kind (Cic. de div. l. c. *id silentium dicimus in auspiciis, quod omni vitio caret*), or by the formula *alio die*, i. e. the *comitia* are for the day null and void, on account of some observed *vitium.* This report to the magistrate was called *nuntiatio* (if unfavourable, generally *obnuntiatio*). On the other hand the augurs had not the right of *spectio*, i. e. of watching the heaven for themselves (*de caelo servare*), and entreating for signs of the divine will. In the *spectio* the magistrate's bare announcement *se servaturum* (or

servasse) *de caelo*, was enough to make *comitia* impossible for the day (*comitia inpedire*). This important right probably rested on the belief in presentiments granted to magistrates solemnly consecrated, whereby they could presage, that on certain days the divine will would be manifested by signs in heaven; hence the mere declaration of the intention to seek such signs was sufficient to postpone the *comitia*.

l. 19. *Nos*, the college of augurs.

l. 21. *etiam* is added, because one magistrate could also *obnuntiare* to another, i.e. suspend his proceedings by asserting that he had noticed an inauspicious sign.

[l. 22. *numquam sobrio*. § 42. l. 8 n. On the jingle of sounds *prudentia—inpudentiam*, cf. § 25. l. 13. n.]

l. 23. *mensibus*, rather *diebus*. [The *comitia* for Dolabella's election were held on some day between 1 Jan. and 15 Feb. 44.]

l. 25. *id facturum*=ea vitiaturum. § 80 n. [§ 83. l. 10.]

l. 26. *quid vitii* etc. i.e. one cannot, without making mockery of religious institutions, anticipate the appearance of unfavourable signs, (cannot, that is, determine beforehand on an *obnuntiatio*); but it is possible to resolve that on a given day one will announce *se servare de caelo*.

[l. 28. *comitiis*, abl. of time; so *ludis*, and even *gladiatoribus*.] *per leges*. Cic. probably means the *lex Clodia* of B.C. 58 which abrogated the *lex Aelia* and *Fufia*. Cic. p. Sest. § 33: *lata lex* (i.e. Clodia) *est, ne auspicia valerent, ne quis obnuntiaret, ne quis legi intercederet; ut omnibus festis diebus legem ferri liceret; ut lex Aelia, lex Fufia ne valeret.* (The *lex Aelia* regulated the right of *spectio* and *obnuntiatio*; the *lex Fufia* appointed that legislative *comitia* should not be held on every *dies fastus* without exception.) For though after B.C. 58 several *obnuntiationes* occur (p. Sest. §§ 78, 79, 83, 129. cf. Phil. I. § 25, II. § 83), it does not follow that the lex Clodia was formally repealed, but only that the old practice was resumed, in spite of its prohibition. Thus Cic. says; it is illegal *de caelo servare* at the *comitia*, but if it is done, it should be done before they begin, and not when business is actually in progress.

[l. 30. *inplicata*. in Vatin. § 3: *inconstantiam tuam cum levitate tum etiam periurio inplicatam*. *inpudentia* abl. 'He is a mixture of ignorance and impudence' (his ignorance goes hand in hand with his impudence). In Cic. de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 19. Halm has on good authority expelled the form *implicitus*. It is said that Cic. everywhere uses *inplicatus*. Gell. I. 7. § 20.]

§ 82. [l. 32. *Idus Martias*. B.C. 44. § 88.]

P. 34. [l. 2. *abiectus*, cf. § 65. l. 9 n. Hence our 'abject.' Properly 'cast away,' 'degraded;' often joined with *humilis*. See Forc., Gesner, or Scheller.]

l. 3. *in aversam lecticam*, into the further side of the lectica, where the cushion (*pulvinar*) was placed. [The constr. is like that of *summus mons* 'the top of the mountain,' etc. Madvig, § 311. Mart. VIII. 62. 2: *charta aversa*, 'the back of the paper.']

c. XXXIII. l. 4 seq. *Ecce* etc. The voting in the *comitia centuriata* at this time took place according to the reformed constitution of the centuries. The chief change introduced by the reform was the combination of the local division of the people in 35 districts (*tribus*) with the Servian division. Neither the time of this reform (Mommsen röm. Gesch. I. 796. ed. 2. dates it B.C. 241) nor the number of the new centuries is exactly known; it is most likely, however, that the 35 tribes were divided into 350 centuries. By the Servian constitution the people was divided into 5 classes according to property, and each class was subdivided into *iuniores* and *seniores*. This division was applied to the tribes in such a way, that each tribe was divided according to property into 5 classes, each class according to age into two halves. Thus each of the 35 tribes contained 10 centuries, and 70 centuries (35 *iuniorum* and 35 *seniorum*) formed one class. Whether beside the 70 centuries from the tribes each class contained a distinct century of artisans (*fabri, liticines, cornicines*), as Mommsen assumes (*die röm. Tribus in administrativer Beziehung*, esp. p. 92), cannot be proved, but is probable, because that would give an odd no. (71) of centuries in each class for voting. To the 350 centuries forming the tribes were further added the 18 (or probably at this time only 12, cf. Liv. XLIII. 16) centuries of knights, which were retained as distinct centuries from the Servian constitution. (Thus Cic. plainly distinguishes the tribes from the centuries of knights, or. Phil. VII. § 16: *Est enim* (L. Antonius) *patronus quinque et triginta tribuum, quarum sua lege, qua cum Caesare magistratum* (magistratuum comitia?) *partitus est, suffragium sustulit; patronus centuriarum equitum Romanorum, quas item sine suffragio esse voluit.*) Another innovation was, that the centuries of knights lost the privilege of voting first, and the *centuria praerogativa* (century that voted first) was determined by lot. That this was taken from the 70 centuries of the first class, is probable, but it remains uncertain, whether from all 70, or only from the 31 *tribus rusticae iuniorum*. *When* the *centuriae equitum* gave their votes, whether immediately after the *praerogativa*, or together with the centuries of the first class, or after them, cannot be determined from other authorities; nor does our passage lead to any certain result, as it is doubtful whether the centuries of knights are mentioned here or no. As far as the words *deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia*, all is plain. 'The day for D's election comes: the *praerogativa* is determined by lot; Ant. holds his peace. Its vote is proclaimed; still he is silent. The first class is called forward, and its vote announced etc.' But the word *suffragia* is very variously interpreted. Some,

and this is at first sight the most natural view, understand by it the votes of the first class; but then *renuntiatur* cannot possibly stand where it does; it must either be transposed, or struck out (so Garat. and Madvig [opusc. I. 169, II. 330]). But even granting that *renuntiatur* is an interpolation, it is strange that Cic. should introduce by *ita ut adsolet* so natural a proceeding as the tendering of the votes. Hence it seems better with other scholars to understand *deinde...suffragia* of the votes of the knights. Thus the words *ita ut adsolet* are no longer superfluous; we can see too why the orator, after saying '*prima classis vocatur, renuntiatur,*' does not go on to speak at once of the *secunda classis*. As however *suffragia* cannot by itself denote the votes of the knights, we must in this case suppose a hiatus in the MSS. Mommsen conjectures: *deinde equitum, ut adsolet, suffragia* (or *equitum* might easily drop out after *suffragia*, as *tum* follows). Or else XVIII. (or XII.) may have fallen out before *suffragia*, 'then, as usual, the 18 votes,' i. e. of the knights. [On this difficult passage see the references in the Zürich edition. Madvig, opusc. II. 330: 'Iis enim prorsus assentior, qui, cum illo tempore singulae tribus binas centurias haberent, in ipsis centuriis classium discrimen fuisse statuunt; itaque Cic. narrat primum praerogativae centuriae sortitionem factam eventumque sortitionis renuntiatum esse; deinde praerogativae centuriae primam classem intro vocatam suffragia consueto more tulisse, tum secundam classem; hic demum Antonium obnuntiasse. Prima classe vocata necdum suffragiis latis nulla renuntiatio intelligi potest; vox *renuntiatur* ex superiore versu errore in hunc locum irrepsit. Quam exigua pars suffragiorum et comitiorum peracta fuerit, declarant verba: *omnia citius facta, quam dixi*.']

[l. 5. *sortitio*. Liv. XXIV. 7: *cum sors praerogativae Aniensi iuniorum exisset*. id. XXVI. 6 etc. MARQUARDT.]

l. 7. *ut adsolet*, sc. fieri; an ellipsis very common in this phrase (as in *ut solet*). [Cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. pp. 613, 879. 'de sollemni more et ritu certae alicuius rei dicitur.' Seyffert (on Læl. § 7) compares Tusc. disp. I. § 23: *cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset* (sc. fieri), and *non potest*, 'it is not possible.']

§ 83. l. 9. *Confecto negotio*, rhetorical exaggeration. *C. Laelius* surnamed *Sapiens*, the friend of the younger Africanus, from whom Cicero's tract 'on friendship' takes its name. Cic. de nat. deor. III. § 5: *habeoque C. Laelium augurem eundemque sapientem, quem potius audiam de religione dicentem in illa oratione nobili, quam quemquam principem Stoicum.*

alio die, note on § 81. l. 18. [de leg. II. § 31: *Quid gravius, quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur* alio die *dixerit? quid magnificentius, quam posse decernere, ut magistratu se abdicent consules?* ABR. cf. infr. § 84. l. 25.]

l. 11. *videras*, e. g. lightning; *senseras*, that there was not perfect clearness in the atmosphere and freedom from wind (*silentium*. § 81. l. 18 n.); *audieras*, e. g. thunder. [Phil. V. § 8: *Quae porro illa tonitrua! quae tempestas! ut, si auspicia M. Antonium non moverent, sustinere tamen eum ac ferre posse tantam vim tempestatis, imbris ac turbinum, mirum videretur. Quam legem igitur se augur dicit tulisse, non modo tonante Iove, sed prope caelesti clamore prohibente, hanc dubitabit contra auspicia latam confiteri?* § 9. *Quid? quod cum eo collega* (Dolab.) *tulit, quem ipse fecit sua nuntiatione vitiosum, nihilne ad auspicia bonus augur pertinere arbitratus est?* ABR.]

l. 12. *neque enim*, for you must have made some such observation, as you certainly did not declare *te de caelo servasse*.

[l. 14. *Kal. Ian.* §§ 79. l. 6, 80. l. 15.]

l. 15. *tua potius*, cf. Liv. X. 40. § 11: *qui auspicio adest, si quid falsi nuntiat, in semet ipsum religionem suscipit.*

[l. 16. *ement*. § 83. l. 11. Phil. 3 § 9. de div. 1 § 29.]

l. 17. *obstrinxisti religione*, 'you have bound by a religious obligation,' which the people cannot escape without fearing the divine vengeance.

l. 18. *consul consuli*, Caesari comitia habenti. From this reproach it appears that such *obnuntiationes*, though permitted (Messalla in Gell. XIII. 15. § 4: *praetores consulesque auspicia inter se et vitiant et obtinent*), yet were not usual; [Suet. Caes. 20: *obnuntiantem collegam* (the cos. Bibulus) *armis foro expulit*.] between brother augurs they were unknown.

l. 20. *deferantur*, that it may be determined by the rules of augural law, whether his *acta* as consul are to be held valid.

§ 84. l. 22. *vitiosus* = vitio creatus.

[l. 25. *alio die*. § 83. l. 10.]

l. 26. *ea quae sit*, sc. aliane nisi haec, vitiata esse comitia.

c. XXXIV. l. 29. *unam pulcherrimam*, § 7. l. 2 n. [So with other words, beside superlatives, that denote eminence. de orat. I. § 60: *unum dominatur*. Seyffert (ad Lael. § 1. p. 12) cites orat. § 104: *unus eminet inter omnes*. So *longe omnibus unum anteferre* etc. Haase adds Bentl. on Hor. A. P. 32, and for the parallel Gr. constr. (cf. εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος etc.) Lob. on Soph. Aj. 1328, Matth. Gr. Gr. § 461.]

l. 30. *Lupercalia*. Intr. §§ 22, 26. [Cf. Cic. ap. Dion. XLIV. 30, Plut. Caes. 61. Quintil. IX 3 § 61.]

Non dissimulat, 'he attempts no disguise.' [Transitive verbs are not seldom thus used without an object. Thus Liv. XXVIII.

45: *in viaticum decurionibus conferre*, 'to contribute;' Liv. II. 51: *annona premit*, 'is oppressive;' so often *obtinet*, whence our 'obtains.' NAEGELSB.]

[l. 31. *sudat, pallet.* On the asyndeton, cf. § 65. l. 12 and 13.]

l. 32. *quod—fecit.* § 63.

in porticu Minucia, in the *circus Flaminius*, where assemblies of the people were often held. It was built by M. Minucius, [cos. B.C. 110], the conqueror of the Scordisci. Vell. II. 8. § 3. [p. Sest. 33: *producti in circo Flaminio in contionem.*]

P. 35. l. 1. *turpitudinis tantae*, quam Lupercalibus in te admisisti.

l. 2. *ubi* etc. i.e. in what part of your speech there shall appear such an extraordinary mastery of rhetoric, as can explain your generosity to the *rhetor* Sex. Clodius (§§ 42, 43) your master, to whom you gave *camp. Leont.* § 101.

§ 85. l. 3. *Sedebat*, to watch the Luperci.

l. 4. *toga purpurea—coronatus.* Intr. n. 81. [de divin. I. § 119: *Quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit; qui cum immolaret illo die, quo primum in sella aurea sedit et cum purpurea veste processit, in extis bovis opimi cor non fuit.* ibid. II. § 36. ABR. Dio XLIV. 6 and 11 distinctly calls it a royal robe.]

[*sella aurea.* Suet. Caes. 76: *ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est, sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, adpellationem mensis e suo nomine.* GRAEV. Cf. infr. § 110 seq. Dio calls it gilt (ἐπίχρυσος, κεχρυσωμένος); it afterwards (Dio LVII. 15) belonged to Vibius Rufus, whom Tiberius allowed to use it publicly. DRUMANN, III. 662. n. 8.]

l. 5. *ita—ut.* Zumpt, § 726. [On the restrictive and concessive uses of *ita* with *ut*, see Hand's Tursell. III. 475 seq.; on the restrictive use with *si*, p. 479. Add Plin. epist. VI. 7. § 3: *licet hoc ita me delectet ut torqueat*, 'if this gives me pleasure, yet it pains me too.' ib. III. 9. § 19: *quae sicut implicita suspitionibus, ita non satis convinci probationibus visa est.* ('although—still'). ib. VI. 29. § 10, X. 28 (=18). § 1. See esp. p. Rosc. com. § 17: *qui ita dignissimus est scaena propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam.* Translate here; 'if you were L., yet you were bound to remember that you were consul,' or, 'your office of Lupercus could not dispense you from the duty of remembering that you were consul.' 'Lupercus as you were, you were bound to bear in mind,' etc. Strictly: 'you were in such sort Lupercus, that you still,' etc.]

Lupercus. Intr. n. 87

[l. 7. *diadema.* At the *feriae Latinae* one of the crowd placed on Cæsar's statue *coronam lauream candida fascia praeligatam* (Suet. 79), and Cæsar cashiered the tribunes who imprisoned his incautious partisan.]

l. 8. *abiectum.* 'For you had not picked it up *in the streets*, but had brought it with you from home, a villainy studied and deliberate.' [So N. D. II. § 83: *amplexa*, 'in its bosom,' etc. NAEGELSB. *meditari*, the same word as μελετᾶν (by the common change of *d* and *l*; cf. *odor, olere*), is used of speakers rehearsing, conning over their speeches, of actors 'getting up' their parts. On *cogitatum*, 'deliberately planned,' cf. p. Mil. § 45: *cogitatum facinus.* ib. § 33: *in illis suis cogitatis furoribus.* Ant. had practised his part at home, and had carefully weighed his plan.—*meditatum* is here passive, though *meditor* is a deponent. See the list of such participles in Madvig, § 153, Zumpt, § 632; and for the Gr. Matth. Gr. Gr. § 495 *d.* (εἴργασμαι etc.). So below, § 88: *ementitis.*]

l. 9. *inponebas.* observe the imperf.

[l. 12. *dominus*, the correlative of *servus* (cf. l. 17). See Lucan I. 665: *cum domino pax ista venit.* A title refused by Augustus and Tiberius, allowed e. g. by Domitian (Juv. IV. 96).]

[l. 17. *temptares.* Bentl. ad Ter. Phorm. III. 3. 19: 'Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadverti, tam veterrimis mille et ducentorum annorum, quam recentioribus, vel *temptare* scribi, vel rarius *temtare*; numquam, quod hodie obtinet, *tentare.*' Ritschl, Proleg. CIII. 'nec de *temptare* forma post Bentleium hodie fere dubitatur.' Mr MUNRO in 'Journ. of philology,' IV. 283: 'With good reason he flies in the face of etymology and spells *temptare, quattuor, Iuppiter, scaena* etc.']

§ 86. [l. 16. *peteres*=petere debebas. supr. § 75. l. 17: *dimicaret.* Madvig, § 351 b. n. 4 and on Cic. de fin. II. § 35, p. 209, Zumpt, § 529 n. Halm on Cic. p. Sull. § 25, p. 78, Wagner on Virg. Aen. IV. 679, Naeke on Valer. Cato, p. 161. Liv. XLV. 37. §§ 3, 4: *non triumphum* inpedire debuit,...*sed postero die nomen* deferret. Virg. Aen. IX. 643: *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.* ib. 140. Ov. met. V. 26 (*petisses*); epist. ex Ponto IV. 3. 26 (*venisset*); Cic. p. Sest. §§ 45, 54, de fin. IV. § 57, de nat. deor. III. § 76, Lucan VII. 647. Sen. de ben. III. 31. § 1 (*exposuisses*). Sen. rhet. contr. III. 16. (*divisio*): *si non poteras, negasses, et misisses ad me, non posse te...Dixisses*, inquit, *te non posse.* St August. de civ. Dei, III. 16: *Mutare ergo nomen, non patriam, cogeretur; postremo in eius nomine hoc vocabulum minus esset, L. Collatinus tantum modo vocaretur.* ib. c. 20: *hic aliquid agerent dii helluones atque nebulones;...hic aliquid agerent,*

civitati populi R...subvenirent, fidei conservatione pereuntem perire non sinerent. Ter. Ad. II. 2. 7. Ov. m. v 26.]

l. 13. *ut omnia paterere.* § 44.

l. 19. *nudus.* Intr. n. 105. It is not the *nudum esse* in itself, but the *contionari* in the habit of a Lupercus that Cic. censures. [Phil. III. § 12: *nec vero M. Antonium consulem post Lupercalia debuistis putare. Quo enim ille die populo R. inspectante nudus, unctus, ebrius est contionatus et id egit ut collegae diadema imponeret, eo die se non modo consulatu, sed etiam libertate abdicavit.* Dionys. I. 80 of the Luperci, 'naked, girt about the middle with skins of victims newly slain.' Hence they are called *cinctuti, succincti.* Justin. XLIII. I. § 7: *ipsum dei* (Luperci) *simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu nunc Romae Lupercalibus decurritur.* Cf. infr. § 111.]

[l. 21. *Num exspectas* etc. i. e. 'Do you wait to be pierced with an oxgoad?' or more familiarly, 'must we run you through with an oxgoad, before you will wince?' so § 30: *an faces admovendae sunt?* 'must we take a red-hot poker to you?' Cf. Tusc. disp. III. § 35: *Non est enim in nostra potestate, fodicantibus iis rebus, quas malas esse opinemur, dissimulatio vel oblivio: lacerant, vexant, stimulos admovent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinunt.* Cf. Plaut. Asin. II. 4. 12, 13.]

l. 23. *haec oratio,* this speech of mine, which declares your shame. Cf. the common metaphor *aculei orationis.*

l. 24. *summorum v.* the liberators. Intr. n. 126.

l. 25. *Quid indignius.* Cic. wished (ad Att. XVI. 11. § 2, cited in Intr. § 56. n. *) to have this altered into *indignissimum est vivere;* Atticus probably recommended him to keep the interrogative form of sentence. In another passage (§ 103) a change was made. [That Ant. should have been put out of the way is said also §§ 34, 113, and by Cic. ap. Dion. XLIV. 34.]

§ 87. l. 28. *in fastis.* The Roman calendar [as our almanacs] incorporated, together with a list of festivals and games, various historical notices. [Thus under Apr. 24 (Orelli Inscr. II. 388): 'TI. CAESAR TOGAM VIRILEM SUMPSIT; under Febr. 5 (p. 384): CONCORDIAE IN ARCE FERIAE EX S. C. QUOD EO DIE IMPERATOR CAESAR PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIB. POTEST. XXI. COS. XIII. A S. P. Q. ROMANO PATER PATRIAE APPELLATUS. Cf. under Apr. 6. Jul. 20. Aug. 2. Aug. 8 (p. 397): SOLI INDIGITI IN COLLE QUIRINALE FER. Q(UOD) EO D(IE) C. CAES. C. F. PHARSALI DEVICIT. etc. Hence *memores fasti* in Hor. carm. III. 17. 4, IV. 14. 4.]

[*ad.* Cic. (?) epist. ad Brut. I. 15. § 8: *D. Bruto liberato, cum laetissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset, idemque casu Bruti natalis esset, decrevi ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen adscriberetur.*]

l. 31. *minime miror,* because only by a revolution can you hope to escape punishment for so heinous a crime.

P. 36. l. 1. *de die,* 'of the day,' i. e. of what the day brings in [cf. § 62. l. 6.] *in diem,* 'for the day,' without care for the morrow. Otherwise Liv. XXII. 39. § 13: *in diem rapto vivit.* Zumpt, § 315. [Bentl. ad Hor. carm. III. 29. 43. HEUS. Hand Tursell. III. 341, and for *de die,* II. 206. Columell. III. 3. § 6: *nec provident futuro tempori, sed quasi plane in diem vivant, sic imperant vitibus,...ut posteritati non consulant.*]

[l. 4. *L. Tarquinius,* etc. §§ 26, 114.]

[l. 5. *Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius.* Madvig (opusc. II. 170) altered the old reading *Spurii Cassius, Maelius,* because that construction is as bad Lat. as it would be Engl. to say Johns White and Tomkins, for John W. and John T. *M. Manlius* Capitolinus, who (B.C. 384, Gell. XVII. 21), *convictus est consilium de regno occupando inisse convictusque capitis.*]

c. XXXV. § 88. [l. 8. *redeamus,* cf. c. XXXIII.]

l. 9. *acturus.* Intr. § 24 ad fin.

[l. 10. *quid egisses.* 'What would you have done, in case he had fulfilled his intention?']

[l. 11. *ementitis.* Cf. § 83. Phil. III. § 9: *Servabant auspicia reges; quae hic consul augurque neglexit, neque solum legibus contra auspicia ferendis, sed etiam collega una ferente eo, quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat.* ABR. On the passive sense of *ement.* cf. § 85. l. 8 n.]

l. 12. *necesse erat,* until the senate or college of augurs had declared the *obnuntiatio* invalid.

[*quod putares,* cf. § 7. l. 6 n.]

[l. 13. *Sustulit. Tollere diem* (senatus) was a technical term for wasting a sitting of the senate, preventing business for that day. Cic. de leg. II. § 40: *nec est umquam longa oratione utendum, nisi...tolli diem utile est.* Cf. the expressions *consumere,* or *eximere, diem dicendo.* Becker, II. 2. 430.]

[*Fortuna.* 'Quia Caesar est interfectus: itaque de auspiciis eo die agi non potuit.' MANUT.]

l. 14. *tuum de auspiciis iudicium.* Cæsar's death could not make those auspices favourable, which you had declared unfavourable; yet you at once abandoned your objection to Dolabella's election. [Intr. n. 134.]

l. 16. *praevertendum est.* de divin. I. § 10: *de quibus quid ipse sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen, si vacas animo, neque habes aliquid, quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes.* Cic. here

drops the subject of the auspices, and does not return to it. [See Madvig, § 139 and his *Bemerkungen*, p. 42. n. * *, for the difference between the active *praeverto*, 'I outdo,' and the deponent *praevertor*, 'I turn myself (principally) to this or that.' Here 'I have fallen upon the mention of a time, which claims a prior notice,' etc. Liv. II. 24. § 5: *nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praevertisse quicquam.* id. XXVIII. 7. § 15: *praevertendum id ratus,* 'thinking that it called for immediate attention.']

l. 19. *beneficio.* Intr. § 30. *si sanus esses,* i.e. si bene de re publica sentire velles.

§ 89. [l. 21. *auguria.* § 37. l. 4, § 39. ad fam. VI. 6. §§ 3—12. ABR.]

l. 22. *in Capitolio.* Intr. § 29.

l. 26. *redirent,* 'and went again' (otherwise § 78). Cf. Intr. § 31. [Asyndeton is very common in the case of words of opposite signification. Madvig, § 434, Zumpt, § 782. Cic. Tusc. V. § 114. *bona mala, aequa iniqua, honesta turpia, utilia inutilia, magna parva.* See Kühner there. Plin. panegyr. 4. § 4: *maria terrae, pax bella.* So *cominus eminus; hostes cives; prima postrema* etc. Cf. § 94 below *aequi boni.*]

[l. 27. *illo die—postero.* Mar. 15 and 16. B. C. 44.]

[l. 30. *Post diem tertium,* not 'after the third day,' but 'on the third day after.' Zumpt, § 476, Madvig, § 276. n. 6. Compare the expressions *ante diem tertium Nonas* etc. March 17 was the festival of the Liberalia. ad Att. XIV. 14. § 2 (cited by Heus.): *nam Liberalibus quis potuit in senatum non venire?...Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum praesidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt.*]

[*Telluris,* near the house of Pompeius (§ 68. l. 8 n.), bought by Antonius, who convened the senate in the neighbouring temple (§ 15 n.) from fear (so App. II. 126). Becker (II. 2. 414) ascribes it to the same cause that Cicero summoned a meeting to the temple of Iuppiter Stator (or. Catil. I. § 11, Plut. Cic. 16). See on this meeting *in Telluris aede,* Intr. § 31 seq. Phil. I. §§ 1 seq., 31. Dio XLIV. 22, XLVI. 28. Plut. Brut. 19, Ant. 14.]

§ 90. [l. 31. *Qui tibi dies.* § 107. l. 23: *qui dies ille collegae tui fuit!* cf. *Qui tu vir* just below. On the efforts of Ant. for peace see Dio XLIV. 34.]

P. 37. [l. 1. *subito.* Intr. n. 216.]

c. XXXVI. l. 4. *facta per obsidem,* 'effected by means of a hostage,' i.e. by your giving up your child as a hostage. [*puerum.* Intr. n. 136.]

l. 5. *M. Fulvius Bambalio,* father of Fulvia; Phil. III. § 16: *tuae coniugis, bonae feminae, locupletis quidem certe, Bambalio quidam pater, homo nullo numero. Nihil illo contemptius, qui propter haesitantiam linguae* (βαμβαλίων = stutterer) *stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerit.* [Hence Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 47: 'Bambalio, whose very surname speaks him infamous, he loves.']

[l. 9. *funeri.* Intr. § 35. On the 19th or 20th of March (Fischer).] *si illud funus fuit.* Phil. I. § 5: *insepulta sepultura.*

§ 91. l. 11. *laudatio* Caesaris. *miseratio.* ad Att. XIV. 10. § 1: *Meministine te clamare, causam perisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille* etc. (as in Intr. n. 146). [Cic. heard the speech (ad Att. XV. 20. § 2), and afterwards read it, ibid. XIV. 11. § 1: *cum equidem contionem lego* de tanto viro, de clarissimo civi, *ferre non queo.* DRUMANN.]

cohortatio, against Cæsar's murderers.

[*tu, tu.* so in § 53, which is cited by Aquila Rom. § 29 as an instance of *palillogia* (iteratio).]

l. 12. *faces.* Intr. n. 144. *incendisti. tu, tu, inquam,* resumes *tua illa...cohortatio.* 'your famous eulogy, your lament, your encouragement, you, you, I say, yourself,' etc. so that *incendisti* is common predicate to all the subjects.

[*semustilatus,* 'singed,' a heartless gibe. 'Non dicit *combustus,* sed *semustilatus:* ut eum rogo caruisse ostendat. quasi id ei, qui tamquam tyrannus carere debuit honore sepulturae, iure ac merito contigerit. p. Mil. § 33: *Tu P. Clodii cruentum cadaver eiecisti domo, tu in publicum abiecisti, tu spoliatum imaginibus, exsequiis, pompa, laudatione, infelicissimis lignis semustilatum, nocturnis canibus dilaniandum reliquisti.* MANUT. When the body of Tiberius was being conveyed to Rome (Suet. 75), a cry was raised that it should be carried to Atella 'et in amphitheatro semustilandum;' but it was borne off by the soldiers, *crematumque publico funere.* Mark the contrast between *semust.* and *crem. p. f.*]

l. 13. *L. Bellieni.* Intr. n. 145.

[l. 14. *hominum,* among whom the Jews were foremost, whom Cæsar had befriended at Alexandrea and elsewhere, and had avenged on the conqueror of the Holy City, Pompeius. Suet. Caes. 84. ABR.]

[l. 18. *praeclara* etc. Intr. § 37. Phil. I. § 3: *Num qui exsules restituti? Unum aiebat* (Antonius), *praeterea neminem. Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respondebat. Adsentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur.* Dio XLIV.

53 (where he translates *tabula* by στήλη, and says that all such ordinances were engraved on pillars of brass). Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 23. Plaut. trinum. 1039. Ov. m. I 91—2 Heins. Burm.]

l. 20. *immunitate,* properly an exemption from taxes and other services, then generally, a privilege granted to provinces or towns.

[l. 21. *dictaturae.* § 115. Phil. I. § 3: *Dictaturam, quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus; scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem eius summo studio secuti sumus, eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.* § 4: *Lux quaedam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnumque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, cum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe iustum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset.* Cf. ib. § 32. —In the year B.C. 22 the title was offered to Augustus, who rejected it with seeming horror. (Suet. 52, Vell. II. 89. § 5, Dio LIV. 1). DRUMANN.]

[l. 24. *eius* etc. cod. Vat. 'eiu omen nomen' etc. Halm with Muret. 'eius omne nomen propter proximi' etc. Madvig, praef. ed. 4: '*omne nomen tollere* prave dicitur pro eo, quod est *funditus nomen tollere,* cum unum nomen nullas partes habeat (rectissime enim diceretur *omne Latinum nomen tollere*)...sententia prava est; neque enim Antonius regni nomen sustulerat, quod tolli opus non erat, sed dictaturae, quae nuper fuerat, neque propter proximi dictatoris metum id fecerat (qui poterat enim mortuus metui?), sed propter ea, quae in posterum timeri poterant... Apparet, Cic. hoc dixisse, Antonium odio regni eo progressum esse, ut id etiam nomen (dictaturae), sub quo regnum latere posset, quodque ei proximum esset, tolleret; itaque sententia huiusmodi fere fuit: *ut propter eius* (regni) *metum etiam proximum dictatoris nomen tolleres,* vel brevius comprehensa et acutius: *ut etiam proximum dictatoris metum tolleres,* hoc est, ut caveres etiam, ne dictator posthac, regi proximus, nedum regnum ipsum, metui posset. Sed quibus verbis Cic. usus sit, exputare nequeo; tantum video, *proximum* non esse ad *dictatoris* nomen accommodandum.']

§ 92. [l. 27. *aut.* Madvig, § 453. n. 2. infr. § 111. l. 17.]

l. 29. *toto Capitolio,* i. e. in and about the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus. Laws and other *tabulae* were posted esp. in and near temples. [Cf. Phil. I. § 26, III. § 30 (quoted above on § 35).]

[l. 30. *immunitates.* § 97. l. 20.]

[l. 31. *non iam,* the proper Lat. for 'no longer.']

[*provinciis totis.* Phil. III. § 30: *quid hic victor non audebit, qui nullam adeptus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit? refertam eius domum exhauserit? hortos compilaverit? ad se ex iis omnia ornamenta transtulerit? caedis et incendiorum causam quaesierit ex funere? duobus aut tribus senatus consultis bene et e re publica factis reliquas res ad lucrum praedamque revocaverit? vendiderit immunitates? civitates liberaverit? provincias universas ex imperii populi R. iure sustulerit? exsules reduxerit?*] Phil. I. § 24. ad Att. XIV. 12. § 1: *Ecce autem Antonius, accepta grandi pecunia, fixit legem a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives R.; cuius rei vivo illo mentio nulla.*

P. 38. l. 2. *vectigalia.* Phil. I. § 24, II. §§ 35, 97. [VII. § 15.]

l. 3. *imperium.* § 97. [*nundinis.* § 35.]

c. XXXVII. § 93. [l. 5. *septiens miliens* sc. centena milia = 700,000,000 sestertii.] *quod est,* 'which stands entered.' Phil. V. § 15: *direptio eius pecuniae, cuius ratio in aede Opis confecta est.*

l. 6. *Opis.* Intr. § 40, supr. § 35. Phil. I. § 17: *Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria. Quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit.* [Phil. VIII. § 26.] Ops, the goddess of fruitfulness, was wife of Saturn, and was worshipped in common with him on the same festivals. Her temple stood on the Capitol (Liv. XXXIX. 22) towards the Forum; hence on inscriptions *aedis Opis ad forum* or *in Capitolio.*

[l. 6. *funestae,* as being the spoils of citizens. *illius quidem,* 'it is true.' see § 6. l. 19 n.] *pecuniae,* gen. in apposition to *sestertium,* to be supplied with *miliens.*

l. 7. *quorum erat,* i. e. the heirs of the fallen Pompeians. [cf. § 75. l. 12.] *tributis.* The *tributum,* or property tax for defraying extraordinary charges, esp. of war, was remitted B.C. 167 after the conquest of Macedonia; nor were extraordinary impositions similar to the old *tributum* again levied, until the times of the triumvirs, B. C. 43. Becker, III. 2. 135.

[l. 8. *quadringentiens,* sc. centena milia = 40,000,000 sestertii.]

[l. 9. *Idibus Martiis* etc. i.e. How did you discharge that debt in a fortnight after Cæsar's death? On the Kalends, Nones, and Ides (esp. on the *tristes Kal.* Hor. S. I. 3. 87) debts were commonly called in. Hor. epod. 2. 69, 70: *omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam, | quaerit Kalendis ponere.* See Orelli there.]

l. 11. *a tuis,* 'from your people,' esp. Fulvia. [Cf. §§ 95, 113. *tuis,* for this *diversis* was once read, 'eodem orationis vitio, quo *epistolas ad diversos* appellant, ut *diversi* sint *complures, multi,* nulla significata diversitate, quomodo veteres non ponebant.' MADVIG, opusc. I. 206.]

l. 12. *rege Deiotaro.* Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, sup-

ported the Romans in numerous wars. The services which he rendered to Sulla, Murena, Servilius Isauricus, and esp. to Lucullus, procured repeated decrees of the senate in his honour (Phil. XI. § 33 seq.). Pompeius also availed himself of his aid in the Mithridatic war. At a later date he was rewarded by the senate with the title of king, and with the sovereignty of lesser Armenia. In B.C. 51 he won the friendship of Cicero, then proconsul of Cilicia, by placing his entire forces at his disposal. He fought at the battle of Pharsalus, and accompanied Pompeius in the earlier part of his flight. In November B.C. 45 Cicero defended his friend from a charge of plotting Cæsar's murder. The speech, delivered in Cæsar's house, is extant.

[l. 13. *amicissimo.* § 41. l. 26 n.]

§ 94. l. 16. *Massiliensibus.* Intr. § 13. [Vell. II. 50. § 3: *Massilia...fide melior quam consilio prudentior.* Phil. XIII. § 32.]

[l. 18. *Igitur.* Quintil. (I. 5. § 39) is in doubt whether to call this position of *igitur* a solecism by 'transmutatio' (such as it would be to begin a sentence with *quoque, enim,* or *autem*); because the best authorities differed, some never beginning a sentence with *igitur*, others frequently doing so. Many instances occur in Sallust, and Zumpt, § 357, has collected several from Cic. e.g. above § 41. Add Tusc. I. § 11. See Madvig, opusc. I. 206.]

[l. 19. *aequi boni.* Asyndeton (cf. § 89. l. 26 n.) is very common in legal and political formulæ. Zumpt, § 742. e.g. *patres conscripti; usus fructus; velitis iubeatis; sarta tecta.* Cf. Lachmann on Lucr. II. 118. *aequum bonum* (or frequently *aequum et bonum*))(the rigour of the law. So in Sen. de clem. II. 7. § 3: *clementia liberum arbitrium habet: non sub formula, sed ex aequo et bono iudicat. et absolvere illi licet et quanti vult taxare litem.*]

l. 20. We should have expected *apud eum mortuum*, as, where the relative precedes, *is* is expressed. Yet there are exceptions to this rule. e.g. Phil. I. § 38: *Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar.* p. Sull. § 92: *quae prima innocentis mihi defensio oblata est suscepi.*

l. 20. *Conpellarat*, 'had called him to account.' See Hirt. bell. Alex. 67, 68.

l. 21. *praesens*, on his march through Asia Minor after the defeat of Pharnaces. [B.C. 47. cf. p. Deiot. §§ 8, 10. Hirt. bell. Alex. 78.]

conputarat, 'had calculated, determined the sums to be paid.'

l. 22. *unum* etc. Mithridates Pergamenus, [who had done

good service in the Alexandrian war], on whom Cæsar conferred the tetrarchy of Galatia with the title of king.

l. 23. *Armeniam*, i.e. the lesser Armenia, which Deiotarus was forced to give up to Ariobarzanes. Cic. de Divin. II. § 79 [: *Fugit* (Deiot.) *e proelio cum Pompeio; grave tempus. Discessit ab eo; luctuosa res. Caesarem eodem tempore hostem et hospitem vidit; quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Trogmorum tetrarchiam eripuisset, et asseclae suo Pergameno nescio cui dedisset, eidemque detraxisset Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem.* Cf. ib. I. § 27, Dio XLII. 48.]

§ 95. [l. 24. *vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus.* Chiasmus (adj., verb; verb, part.). cf. § 75. l. 7 seq. Plin. ep. III. 15. § 1.]

[l. 25. *Mira* etc. 'A strange combination of words!']

[l. 26. *ille*, Cæsar.]

[l. 27. *adfui*, appeared on his behalf. Witness the speech *pro rege Deiotaro.*]

[l. 29. *sestertii. Sestertium*, the contracted gen. pl. masc., was mistaken for a neut. nom. sing., and declined accordingly. ad Att. IV. 2. § 5: *superficiem aedium aestimarunt sestertio deciens.* p. Font. § 4: *Testis non invenitur in ducentis et triciens sestertio. Sestertia* is found Verr. II. § 50, III. § 119, Parad. VI. § 49, ad fam. V. 20. § 9. MADVIG. (*Bemerkungen*, p. 36, and Emend. Livian. 594 n.; cf. Zumpt, § 873).—*centiens* = 10,000,000 sesterces.]

l. 31. *in gynaecio*, i.e. in Fulvia's apartments. ad Att. XIV. 12. § 1: *Quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam.* [cf. infr. § 113. *minime avara.*]

P. 39. l. 1. *quid sis acturus*, whether you will insist on the discharge of the bond.

censeo. Catil. IV. § 13: *vereamini censeo.* Verr. V. § 174: *magnopere censeo desistas.* Sall. Catil. 52. § 26: *misereamini censeo.* [Fabri on Liv. XXI 19 § 10.]

§ 96. l. 7. *ne iste quidem*, prob. the well-known Sextus Clodius, whom P. Clodius employed to draw up his laws. § 9. l. 6.

l. 8. *deberi*, 'that anything is due upon this bond.'

[l. 10. *suum sibi, sibi* not *ei*, because it is dependent; Cic. could not say *suum sibi vendidisti* in an independent sentence; but here *suum sibi* belongs as much to *possedit* as to *venderes*, and might be placed before *prius* or after *venderes*. On the subj. after *prius, quam* (implying a purpose 'before you should' = that you might not) see Madvig, § 360.]

l. 12. *auctorem*, Cæsar. cf. Phil. XIII. § 2: *Nam quid ego de proximo* (civi detestabili) *dicam, cuius acta defendimus, auctorem ipsum iure caesum fatemur?*

c. XXXVIII. § 97. [l. 15. *institores*, 'hawkers,' 'colporteurs.' Madvig, opusc. I. 173, 174.] *gladiatorum libellos*, lists of the gladiators, programmes of the entertainment, our 'play-bills.' [cf. 'cards of the course.' Sen. epist. 117. § 30: *Nemo, qui obstetricem parturienti filiae sollicitus accersit, edictum et* ludorum ordinem *perlegit.* Cic. ad fam. II. 8. § 1: *gladiatorum compositiones.* Trebell. Poll. Claud. 5: *libellus munerarius.* Pictures of the combatants were also exhibited (Hor. S. II. 7. 96 seq.). ABR.]

[l. 20. *Cretensium*, cf. § 93.]—*post M. Brutum*, i. e. post eius ex provincia decessum.

[l. 21. *pro consule.* Aug. de Gen. contra Manich. II. § 33: *dicitur ex consulibus aut pro consulibus, qui iam non est.* Cf. above, § 31. l. 31 n.]

ne sit provincia, it is a great exaggeration to speak of the surrender of *vectigalia* as the surrender of the province. [Hence Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 32, ad fin.; cf. Calen. ibid. XLVI. 23.]

[l. 22. *constringendus.* So of a madman, who needs a strait waistcoat, also or. in Pis. § 48: *si familiam tuam dimisisses,... amici te constringendum putarent: praesidium tu rei publicae... dimisisses, si tuae mentis conpos fuisses.* Compare the phrase *curatoris egere.* (Hor. epist. I. 1. 102).]

l. 24. *nihil ad B. pertineret*, because Cæsar had assigned another province to him for the year 43 after his prætorship. Intr. § 45. Accordingly his name could not appear in any genuine decree of Cæsar's respecting Crete.

§ 98. l. 28. *quam fixisti*, ut a Caesare latam. Therefore not that law, which Ant. passed as tribune (§ 56), which is alluded to below: *de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti.* The exiles recalled 'ex actis Caesaris' were nicknamed *Orcini* or *Charonitae* [Plut. Ant. 15]; cf. Phil. V. § 11: *restituebantur exsules quasi lege sine lege.* The phrase *legem figere* (=tabulam legis, i. e. to make known a law that has been carried) is to be distinguished from *legem promulgare* (to make known the draught of a law, 'a bill.'). [Plin. ep. VIII 6 § 14 Corte.]

[*Nullius*, used as gen. of *nemo* by the best writers. Madvig, § 91. 5.]

l. 30. *inquinatos*, as you have recalled men of infamous character. [Madvig reads *aequatos* with Camerarius.]

dissimilem, most of them, as Cic. hints, were exiled on political grounds, whereas Ant. recalled criminals. cf. App. b. c. II. 107: 'Cæsar also restored the exiles (B. C. 45), except such as were banished for unpardonable crimes.'

P. 40. l. 2. *in loco patrui.* § 55. l. 20 n., § 56.

l. 3. *ferre.* Intr. n. 49.

l. 4. *censuram.* The uncle must have been restored (in or before B. C. 45) by a decree of Cæsar; for he was in the senate 1 Jan. 44, (§ 99). Ant. when consul, as we learn from this passage, declared his intention of holding *comitia censoria* (the last had been held B. C. 50), but did not execute his purpose.

§ 99. l. 6. *an quia*, 'perhaps because etc?' 'or was it because etc.?' After a general question (as here *cur* presupposes various possible reasons) the question with *an* introduces the one point, which the speaker selects for special notice out of several possibilities. cf. §§ 8, 100, 110.

l. 7. *tribunus pl.*, qui de caelo spectaverat; § 81 n. on *sinistrum fulmen* see Cic. de divin. II. § 42: *Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: 'Iove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.' Hoc fortasse rei publicae causa constitutum est; comitiorum enim non habendorum causas esse voluerunt. Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optimum habemus, si sinistrum fuit.* Cf. ibid. II. § 74.

[*tua* and *tuorum interest.* Madvig, § 295, Zumpt, § 449. We have *quid refert* above, § 29. Cf. Plin. paneg. 40. § 5: *nihil referre iniquitatis, hoc an illud fiat.*]

[l. 8. *nulla auspicia sunt*, § 80 seq. 'when your interests are at all concerned, auspices have no existence for you, (alluding to laws passed by Ant. during a storm, § 83. l. 11 n. Phil. V. § 8, VI. § 3), when it is your uncle's honour that is at stake, you are seized with a fit of superstition.']

l. 9. *in septemviratu.* Intr. n. 168. [The acts of the septemvirs were repealed early in B. C. 43: on the proposal of L. Caesar, uncle of Ant. (Cic. Phil. VI. § 14: *Iacent beneficia Nuculae, friget patronus Antonius*, etc.) See further on the septemvirs, Phil. VIII. § 26, XI. § 13: *duos collegas Antoniorum et Dolabellae, Nuculam et Lentonem, Italiae divisores lege ea, quam senatus per vim latam iudicavit: quorum alter commentatus est mimos, alter egit tragoediam.* Phil. XII. §§ 20, 23.]

[l. 10. *destituisti*, 'left in the lurch.' *intervenit* 'Intervenisse Cic. dicit aliquem, qui id munus patruo debitum inte ceperit, et M. Antonio extorserit, quod metueret scilicet, ne salvo capite negare ei non posset. Notus erat senatoribus homo contemptissimus, quem M. Antonius, patruo detruso, ad eum locum evexerat; ne nobis quidem plane ignotus; nam aut Nucula aut Lento fuit.' MADVIG.]

[l. 13. *si esset, debebas.* On this constr. of *debebam, oportebat*, etc., where we should rather use the subj., cf. Madvig, § 348 c.

and *Obs.* Zumpt, § 519 (*a*). See a special exception above § 67. l. 7. *potuisset;* and the analogous constr. of *longum est,* § 27. l. 15. Plin. epist. VII. 15. § 1: *beatius erat.* Ovid. epist. ex Ponto III. 4. 24: *quem fuit utilius non docuisse mihi,* 'it would have been more for my advantage.']

sororem patruelem. Intr. n. 15.

l. 14. *eiecisti.* cf. § 69: *exegit.*

condicione, 'match.' [The formula in breaking off a match was (Dig. XXII. 2. 2. § 2) *condicione tua non utor.* Mart. V. 17. 2 seq.: *dum tibi noster eques sordida condicio est, | dum te posse negas nisi lato, Gellia, clavo | nubere.* Cf. Suet. Galb. 5, Oud. on Suet. Caes. 27, Gronov. Obs. I. 6, Dirksen's manuale 184 a, Seyffert on Cic. Lael. p. 232, Manut. h. l. Plin. ep. I. 10. § 8.]

ante, alluding to the earlier intimacy of Ant. and Fulvia. cf. § 48. l. 15.

[l. 15. *probri* = 'stupri.' FORCELL.; see his exx. Abr. adds Dig. XXIII. 2. 41 pr.]

insimulasti. Plut. Ant. 9: 'Ant. vehemently suspecting that Dolabella was playing him false in the matter of his marriage, and taking the thing to heart, thrust his wife out of doors.'

[l. 17. *Frequentissimo,* as usual on New year's day. cf. § 79. l. 6. n. *Kal. Ian.* B.C. 44. cf. ibid.]

l. 18. *cum Dol. odii,* as we say: *est mihi odium cum aliquo.*

[l. 20. *comperisses,* specially used of the detection of crime. As Cic. often used the word (*comperi omnia*) respecting the discovery of Catilina's plot, Clodius (ad Att. I. 14. § 4) cast it in his teeth; so that Cic. says (ad fam. V. 5. § 2): 'comperisse' *me non audeo dicere.*]

l. 22. *Dol.* Cicero speaks thus temporis causa; Dolabella was liable to still graver reproaches.

c. XXXIX. § 100. [l. 24. *redeamus,* see § 97. l. 14.]

l. 25. *cognitio.* Intr. § 51.

[l. 26. *confirmata.* Intr. § 32. I. § 23, XIII. § 10.]

[l. 27. *quae quidem egisset,* § 7. l. 8. n. 'such, that is, as Cæsar' etc.]

l. 28. [*ista,* in its strict sense 'these *acta* of yours.']

quo auctore. [§ 35. l. 21 n., Intr. § 39]. Phil. I. § 16: *Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo probem,... sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii... An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt?* ibid. § 24: *Ergo hacc uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus?* Phil. V. § 11: *Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat.*

[l. 30. *sic.* 'The terms of the resolution were these.' *Kal. Iun.* Phil. I. § 6: *Ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito.* Intr. § 51.]

l. 31. *cognosceretis,* the two consuls, Ant. and Dolabella, *cum cons.* with a committee of the senate.

Quod, 'Of what members did the committee consist?'

l. 32. *quem convocasti.* Intr. n. 204.

P. 41. l. 1. *an,* 'or was it that first of June?' etc. § 99 n. Ant. delayed convoking the senate, until he had collected so large a force of troops (§ 108), that no independent senator could venture to appear in the senate and thwart his schemes.

[l. 4. *Capuam.* Capua, as a colony of Cæsar's veterans (below l. 11 n.), was attached to his heir Octavianus, who afterwards called out the settlers (hence *evocati* or *vocati,* Dio XLV. 12) to his aid against Antonius. Indeed even those who owed their lands to Ant. himself, rallied round his antagonist (Dio L. 6). Cf. Intr. § 41. Ant. reached Capua before the 4th of May (ad Att. XIV. 17. § 2).]

coloniam deducere, as one of the Septemviri agris adsignandis.

l. 5. *conatus es.* Cf. § 102.

illinc abieris, Ant. was roughly handled in Capua, as the old settlers looked with an evil eye on his new colonists, as intruders on their rights. [Phil. XII. § 7: *Capua,...quae temporibus his Roma altera est. Illa impios cives iudicavit, eiecit, exclusit. Illi, illi, inquam, urbi fortissime conanti e manibus est ereptus Antonius.* FERRAR.] However Antonius was not entirely baffled, as appears from his demand made to the senate at the end of Jan. 43 (Phil. VIII. § 25 quoted below on § 101. l. 15).

§ 101. l. 8. *paene tollatur,* by a general revolt.

[*peregrinatio.* Cf. the earlier progresses described §§ 57 seq., 62.]

[l. 10. *vinolentiam.* § 42. l. 8 n.]

l. 11. *illa,* those which follow.

Agrum Campanum. Suet. Caes. 20: *Campum Stellatem maioribus consecratum agrumque Campanum, ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem relictum* (since B.C. 211), *divisit extra sortem* (Cæsar as consul 59) *ad viginti milibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent.* When B.C. 45 Cæsar's veterans were rewarded

with grants of land, it was again the ager Campanus ['domain of Capua,' for *Campanus* (not *Capuanus*) is the adj. for 'Capuan'] which was brought into requisition. See Suet. 81: *Paucos ante menses* (before the Ides of March) *cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad exstruendas villas vetustissima sepulcra disicerent, tabula aenea inventa est* etc. Cf. Becker III. 1. 333. [App. b. civ. II. 10 speaks of its extraordinary fertility.]

l. 12. *vectigalibus*, sc. agris. *tamen*, though that was not so wanton a waste.

[l. 13. *hunc*. cf. Madvig, § 408 a. Above § 30. l. 9 n.]

[l. 15. *Mimos*. Phil. VIII. § 25: *Addit praeterea* (Antonius), 'ut quos ipse cum Dolabella dederit agros, teneant ii, quibus dati sint.' § 26: *Hic est Campanus ager et Leontinus, quae duo maiores nostri annonae perfugia ducebant. Cavet mimis, aleatoribus, lenonibus; Cafoni etiam et Saxae cavet, quos centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos inter mimorum et mimarum greges collocavit.* On the infamy of the profession cf. above, § 58. l. 19 n. Abram cites Ov. tr. II 497, 515 (*obscaena iocantes; imitantes turpia*; see the whole passage).]

l. 16. *Leontino*. This was domain land or property of the Roman people, and was not even let to the townspeople; Cic. Verr. III. § 109 asserts that with the exception of a single family no Leontine occupied so much as a clod (*glaeba*) of earth there; the ager was farmed partly by Roman citizens, partly by other Sicilians (esp. Centuripini. Verr. III. § 114). [The town had properly no name, but took the name of the people; hence Verr. II. § 160: *Leontinis, misera in civitate.*]

l. 17. *quoniam quidem*, as I certainly might with good cause, since etc.

arationes, 'domains.' [So in Milton, 'tilth.' Verr. III. § 38: *iugera sationum suarum*, 'sowings' = lands sown. de leg. agr. III. § 3: *Sullanarum assignationum possessoribus*, 'allotments.' ad fam. IX. 18. § 4: *aestimationes tuas vendere*, 'your assessments' = assessed estate. NAEGELSB. cf. 'the diggings.' Capua is called (de leg. agr. II. § 89) *locus comportandis condendisque fructibus*. cf. ib. § 89: *C. receptaculum aratorum, nundinas rusticorum, cellam atque horreum Campani agri.* Comp. Od. ι 134 (ἄροσις).]

l. 18. *grandiferae*, a rare word, but supported by cod. Vat. and Martian. Cap. v. § 511. Cf. p. Scaur. § 25: *campus ille nobilissimus ac feracissimus Leontinus.* ['Insolens sane et novum *grandifer* praesertim ex adiectivo priore parte sumpta, cuius formae unum, opinor, adhuc erat exemplum idque poeticum, *omnifer*. (Madvig forgets *multifer*.) Sed tamen potuit de agro grandes segetes ferente dici fortasse etiam communi sermone.' MADVIG, ed. 3, who questions whether the *faenore* of the common reading, in the sense of 'produce of the earth,' is Ciceronian.]

[l. 20. *sanasset*. from your madness. § 97. l. 22.]

rhetori, § 43. l. 18 n. *duo* = $\frac{1}{15}$ of the whole ager (Verr. III. 113).

c. XL. § 102. l. 22. [*Deduxisti*. Mark the chiasmus (§ 95. l. 24 n.), *Deduxisti* and *deduxerat*; *consuluisti* and *respondissem*; *negavi* and *rescripsi*; are severally the first and last words in their clauses. Cf. Lael. § 52: *diligat—diligatur*; *circumfluere—vivere*. de fin. II. § 40. NAEGELSB.]

Casilinum, in Campania on the Appian way. [Liv. XXII. 15. § 3: *urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit.* ABR. Octavianus, by a bounty of 500 denarii, drew over the veterans of this colony to his side. (ad Att. XVI. 8. § 1).]

l. 24. *tu quidem*, 'it is true, your question related to Capua; but.'—cf. § 5. l. 19 n. *possesne* depends on *consuluisti*, and *de Capua—respondissem* form a kind of parenthesis.

l. 26. *Negavi* etc. Niebuhr hist. Rom. II. 625: 'A whole district marked out under the auspices for partition was in fact a temple, and unalterable. There is a reference to this in the opinion pronounced by Cic. in his capacity of augur,...that where a colony had once been founded under regular auspices, so long as it subsisted undestroyed, no new one could be settled.'

l. 28. *adscribi*, as Archias at Heraclea. The names of such adopted citizens were registered in the town archives (*tabularium*, Cic. p. Arch. § 8).

l. 30. *paucis annis ante*, by the lex Julia.

l. 31. *vexillum t.*, like *signa tollere*, Caes. b. civ. II. 20, 'so that you marched in military array with colours flying,' i.e. performed the deductio with all formality. Cic. de leg. agr. II. § 86: *tunc illud vexillum Campanae coloniae, vehementer huic imperio timendum, Capuam a decemviris inferetur* etc. [Cf. Plut. C. Gracch. 11. ABR.] Military standards are the usual type on colonial coins. [Eckhel IV. 490 seq. MARQUARDT.]

aratrum. The circuit of the city was traced by a plough. [Virg. Aen. V. 755: *Aeneas urbem designat aratro.* Ov. Fast. IV. 825, 826. This rite also often appears on colonial coins. Eckhel IV. 489 seq. MARQUARDT.]

[l. 32. *quidem*. 'Yes, and with the share of that plough.' The vulgar 'More by token' exactly gives the force.]

paene etc. Cas. lay only 3000 paces from Capua, on the site of the modern Capua. Old Capua was situated near the modern *S. Maria di Capua.*

P. 42. l. 1. *coloniae*, which Capua became B. C. 59 by a law of the consul Cæsar. See p. Sest. § 9, whence we learn that Cicero was patronus of Capua.

§ 103. l. 3. *M. Terentius Varro*, the greatest 'Polyhistor' and the most prolific writer of Roman antiquity, was a sturdy Pompeian, and (B. C. 49) as legatus of Pompeius in Spain fought at the head of two legions against Cæsar. In spite of political antipathies Cæsar valued him for his learning. Suet. 44: *de ornanda instruendaque Urbe, item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio plura ac maiora in dies destinabat...bibliothecas Graecas et Latinas, quas maximas posset, publicare, data M. Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum* etc. [In the history of Rome written by a 'Polyhistor' of our day, Th. Mommsen, there is an eloquent account of Varro and his works; Mommsen seems however to have exaggerated the literary power of his hero as unduly as he has depreciated that of Cicero.]

l. 4. *fundum*, described by Varro de re rust. III. 5. § 9: *cum habeam sub oppido Casino flumen, quod per villam fluat liquidum et altum* etc. [Varro goes on to describe at length his aviary, and mentions a museum, fishponds, terraces, etc. On *Casinum* cf. § 40. l. 23; where the case of *L. Rubrius*, also of Casinum, is more fully stated; as is that of *L. Turselius*, § 41. *Fundus* is a 'homestead' (*ager cum aedificio*).]

l. 5. *L. Rubrii*, Cic. had at first written *Scipionis* (father-in-law of Pompeius, cf. § 109. l. 23), which he altered at the suggestion of Atticus (§ 86. l. 25 n.)

in praedia. Supply from *advolas* the more general notion *invasisti.* [cf. § 68. l. 8.]

l. 7. *ab hasta*, 'If it is from an auction that you have them, let the auction stand, and let the accounts stand, provided only they be Cæsar's, not yours; those by which you are provec a debtor, not those by which you rid yourself from debt.' *si ab hasta*, sc. in eas possessiones invasisti. [On *hasta* cf. § 39. l. 6 n *tabulae*, the accounts of the biddings.]

l. 8. *debuisti*, for the house and goods of Pompeius, § 65 seq. 71 seq. [Intr. § 19.]

[*tu te.* cf. § 18. l. 20 n.] *liberavisti*, by the forged commentarii Caesaris. Intr. § 39. §§ 93, 97.

[l. 9. *quidem.* 'As for *Varro's* estate at Casinum, who affirms that that was sold?']

[l. 11. *praeconis.* § 64. l. 28. Juv. III. 33, VII. 6.]

[l. 12. *Alexandream.* Intr. § 15.]

emeret, as bona publicata.

[l. 13. *magnum fuit.* On the ind. cf. § 27. l. 15 n.]

§ 104. [l. 15. *Varronis.* Gell. III. 10. § 17 cites Varro as saying that he had entered on his twelfth week of years and had written 490 books, several of which when he was proscribed had disappeared in the pillage of his libraries.]

[l. 17. *gladios.* § 112.]

[l. 18. *iam intelleges.* So without *et* always in Cicero. Madvig, opusc. II. 162: Cicero 'semper in eventu imperatae actionis significando imperativo futurum sine coniunctione subicit; inferioris aetatis scriptores *et* interponunt, estque hoc perpetuum discrimen, ut hunc sumam, Senecae et Ciceronis. Verr. I. § 45: *videte: quaeretis.* ib. II. § 57: *attendite: iam intellegetis.* Sen. ep. 4. § 6: *recognosce et intelleges.* ib. 13. § 15: *considera et intelleges.* ib. 16. § 6, 20. § 6, de benef. IV. 18. § 3.' Cf. Juv. I. 155, infr. § 115. l. 31. See Addenda, p. 160.]

aliam causam, etc. we have agreed for the sake of peace to ratify Cæsar's genuine acts, and therefore to confirm the titles acquired by purchase at his auction spear (§ 100. l. 25).

[l. 19. *confidentiae.* Tusc. III. § 14. confidens *mala consuetudine loquendi in vitio ponitur, ductum verbum a* confidendo, *quod laudis est.* ABR.]

l. 21. *procurator*, the agent of an absent owner, who had full power to act in his behalf.

c. XLI. l. 23. *Ab hora tertia*, the ordinary time of the cena was *hora nona.* [Mart. IV. 8. 6: *imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.* *bibebatur.* § 42. l. 8. Cf. ad Att. XIV. 3. § 2: (Antonium) *epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.*]

[l. 24. *ludebatur*, alea. § 56. *vomebatur.* § 63.]

quam dispari domino, from a tragedy. See de off. I. § 139: *ter ampla domus dedecori saepe domino fit, si est in ea solitudo, axime, si aliquando alio domino solita est frequentari. Odiosum enim, cum a praetereuntibus dicitur: 'o domus antiqua, heu m dispari dominare domino!' quod quidem his temporibus in ultis licet dicere.*

§ 105. l. 29. *Iura p. R.* It is now known (Ritschl, *die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro* in N. Rhein. Mus. VI. 481 seq.) that Varro wrote 15 books *de iure civili.*

l. 30. *monimenta mai.* e.g. *Annalium libri* III., *de vita populi Romani l.* IV., esp. *antiquitates rerum humanarum* and *rerum divinarum* in 41 books.

l. 31. *ratio*, 'theory,' in his book *de forma philosophiae* (Ritschl, ibid. 503). *omnisque doctrinae*, esp. in the 9 books

disciplinarum, an encyclopædic account of the artes liberales amongst the Romans. [Mommsen supposes that the Trivium and Quadrivium came down from Varro, through Martianus Capella. From Cic. Auson. prof. 20. 9 sq.]

[*inquilino*. 'Catilina,' says App. b. civ. II. 2 (after Sallust), 'called Cicero an *inquilinus*, by which name they are called who inhabit houses not their own.' Scheller cites Justin XLIII. 4. § 5: *qui nunc* inquilini *videantur, quandoque* dominos *regionum futuros*.]

P. 43. [l. 1. *natabant pavimenta*. Cic. p. Gallio ap. Aquil. Rom. 2: *Versabatur inter hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. Humus erat lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium.* This of his client!—Hor. carm. II. 14. 26, 27: *mero | tinget pavimentum superbo.* See Orelli there.]

[l. 3. *Casino*. § 43. l. 23.]

[l. 4. *Aquinum*, a Volscian town in Latium, the birth-place of Juvenal. Juv. III. 318, 319: *quoties te | Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino.* Still called *Aquino*. Cic. had a lodge there (ad fam. IX. 24. § 1), and expresses his fears lest his estates should share the fate of those of his friend and neighbour (e.g. ad Att. XVI. 12. § 2).]

[*Interamna*, says Varr. L. L. V. § 28, *quod inter amnes est constitutum.* This *I.* was called *Lirinas*, as being on the (left) bank of the Liris; 7 miles from Casinum. The extensive ruins on the site are still called *Terame*. Mr BUNBURY.]

[*Admissus* etc. Cf. ad Att. XV. 8. § 1: *aditus ad eum* (Ant.) *difficilior esse dicitur.*]

[*Iure* etc. '*There* you were right (in refusing homage); for the emblems of rank lost their lustre in a man so infamous;' i.e. you felt that your consular insignia could not give you a title to reverence.]

§ 106. [l. 9. *operta lectica*. cf. § 58. l. 18 n. Juv. III. 242: *clausa lectica fenestra*. cf. ib. IV. 21.—*ut mortuus*. C. Gracchus (in Gell. X. 3. § 5) tells a story of a young official, who was borne in a palanquin; a peasant meeting him, and not knowing who it was, asked in jest, *num mortuum ferrent*. On which the fiery young blade ordered the *lectica* to be set down, and the jester to be beaten with the thongs which fastened it; under which infliction he died. See more in Gronov. Obs. II. 15. p. 169 Fr.]

l. 10. *via*, Latina, which ran southward from the porta Capena.

[l. 11. *descenderunt*. Sil. XII. 532, 533: *surgit suspensa tumenti | dorso frugiferis cerealis Anagnia glaebis.* Anagnia (now *Anagni*), capital of the Hernicans in Latium, lay on a hill to the left (hence *devii*) of the Via Latina. Cicero had a villa there (ad Qu. fr. II. 7, ad Att. XII. 1. § 1).]

[l. 12. *esset*. 'as though he *really* were consul.' cf. § 68. l. 18 n.]

l. 13. *sed sum vicinus*. This emendation of the MS. reading *sed cum uinus* is due to Madvig. [See his opusc. II. 330: 'Puto Ciceronem significasse, se cum villam in illa vicinia haberet, ex ipsis Anagninis recentem rem audivisse, cum sine ulla varietate narraretur.']

l. 14. *praesertim cum*. § 60. l. 13 n.

l. 15. *Mustelam et Laconem*. § 8. l. 17 n. In the rough copy of the speech which Cic. sent to Atticus (ad Att. XVI. 11. § 3 in Intr. § 56. n. *), the names were wanting, and Atticus asked who the *duo Anagnini* might be. In the published speech the names were added for the sake of clearness. (Manut. less probably condemns them as a gloss.)

§ 107. l. 18. *Sidicinos*, an Oscan people in the N.W. of Campania, whose capital was *Teanum*.

[*Puteolanos*. At *Puteoli* ('Wells,' now *Pozzuoli*), a great commercial city on the northern shore of the bay of Cumae, Cic. had a fine villa (*Academia*, Plin. hist. nat. XXXI. § 6; see the epigram by a freedman of Cicero's, ibid. § 8), to which Hirtius and Pansa came in this year 44 to practise declamation with the orator, 'leaving him no rest even at the baths' (ad Att. XIV. 12. § 2). During the progress of Ant. (April and May) Cic. was there more than once (ib. 7. § 1, 16. § 1, 20. § 1), and was visited by Octavius (Augustus. ib. 11. § 2, 12. § 2). There too he revised this speech (Intr. § 56. n. *). On the name cf. Varr. L. L. V. § 25: *A puteis oppidum Puteoli, quod incircum eum locum aquae frigidae et caldae multae.*]

[l. 19. *patronos adoptassent*. So Orelli inscr. 7115: *hunc ob merita eius erga rem publicam ordo decurionum patronum municipi* (Spoletii) *adoptavit*. Cic. p. Sest. § 9 (supr. § 100. l. 4 n.). Conquerors became patrons of the new provinces (e.g. the Marcelli of Sicily, divin. p. Caec. §§ 2, 13, 16, Verr. III. § 45); founders, of colonies (p. Sull. § 60); orators, of cities or countries on whose behalf they had pleaded (Tac. dial. 3, 36). The dignity was hereditary (e.g. Antonius was hereditary patron of Bononia, Suet. Oct. 17, Dio L. 6). Many inscriptions on marble or brass (Verr. IV. § 145) remain, attesting this relation; such tablets were fastened in the wall of the patron's atrium. Cf. the Greek πρόξενοι, and on the custom generally, Dionys. II. 11, App. b. civ. II. 4. See esp. the humorous account of the statues raised by the 35 tribes, the knights, the military tribunes, and (last, not least) the usurers of the middle Ianus, to their patron L. Antonius, Phil. VI. §§ 12—15, VII. § 16. See the case of the pseudo-Marius. Intr. § 38.]

l. 21. *Basilus*, doubtless a different man from the L. Minucius B., who served as legatus of Cæsar in his Gallic wars, and was one of his murderers. [Cicero calls Basilus Satrianus (de off. III. § 74) *patronum agri Piceni et Sabini; o turpem notam temporum illorum!*]

l. 22. *non modo*, 'not to say,' 'much less.' Madvig, § 461. n. 3, Zumpt, § 724 *b*. [Cf. § 26. l. 28 n. Ramshorn cites de leg. III. § 12: *nihil habui sane, non modo multum.* parad. § 17: *ne recusanti quidem..., non modo repugnanti.* Plin. h. nat. XI. § 18 (of bees): *mortuis ne floribus quidem, non modo corporibus insidunt.* See Hand's Tursell. IV. 297.]

l. 23. *cliens.* The patron was said *in clientelam recipere* or *suscipere*.

c. XLII. [*qui dics.* § 90. l. 31.]

l. 25. *bustum.* Intr. §§ 38, 43. Phil. I. § 5: *alia porro propria Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega afuisset, credo iis futura fuisse communia. Nam cum serperet in urbem infinitum malum idque manaret in dies latius, idemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerant, et cotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minitarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse.* [See the appeal to Dolabella, ibid. § 30: *Quem potes recordari in vita inluxisse tibi diem laetiorem quam cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus sceleris poena adfectis, te domum recepisti?* Cic. there goes on to mention the general congratulations on Dolabella's vigorous assertion of the law, the thanks which he himself received as D.'s supposed adviser, the plaudits in the theatre etc. Cf. the letter of thanks to Dolabella (ad fam. IX. 14). Cicero's correspondence (ad Att. XIV. 15—17, 20. § 4) shews the extraordinary importance which he attached to this 'heroic feat.' See Intr. n. 177.]

[l. 26. *concidisti.* Cf. Phil. V. § 23: *Quo ille nuntio audito ...repente concidit.* Often thus used of the 'collapse,' prostration, consternation, produced by a sudden shock. We say 'you dropped to the ground as if shot.' The vulgar phrase 'struck all of a heap' gives the exact force of the preposition.]

l. 27. *metum.* No: see Intr. n. 180.

[l. 28. *collegam.* ad Att. XIV. 18. § 1: *Saepius me iam agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in caelum videar efferre ....Sed totum se a te abalienavit Dolabella, ea de causa, qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit.* He goes on to say that

he had written a very 'stinging' letter (*satis aculeatas litteras*), to Dolabella.]

quidem, 'that is certain.'

de caelo, cf. for the expression, Phil. IV. § 6: *Caesar fertur in caelum, qui contra te exercitum comparavit, laudantur exquisitissimis verbis legiones, quae te reliquerunt.* ad Att. XIV. 6. § 2: *nihil tam σόλοικον, quam τυραννοκτόνους in caelo esse* (ad Att. XVI. 5. § 2, it is said *eos laudari atque amari*), *tyranni facta defendi.* Florus II. 19 (I. 34). § 3: *bellis Gallicis atque Germanicis, quibus populus R. caelum ipsum gloria ascendit.* infr. § 114: *eam gloriam.. quae vix caelo capi posse videatur.* [Cic. to Dolabella, ad fam. IX. 14. § 1: *te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.*]

[l. 29. *tu quidem.* § 6. l. 19 n.]

§ 108. [l. 31. *reditus.* § 100. l. 2. Intr. § 46.]

[l. 32 seq. Phil. V. § 17: *Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam, modo Caesarem: ... Non possum affirmare nullis telis eos stipatos fuisse; hoc dico, nec multis et occultis.* § 18: *At hanc pestem agmen armatorum sequebatur: Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum; certum agminis locum tenebant barbari sagittarii. Cum autem erat ventum ad aedem Concordiae, gradus complebantur, lecticae collocabantur, non quo ille scuta occulta esse vellet, sed ne familiares, si scuta ipsi ferrent, laborarent* etc. ABR.]

P. 44. [l. 3. *nec ita multi*, just as we say, 'and not so many of them,' i. e. 'not very many.' Hand Tursell. III. 490 seq. cites e. g. Brut. § 244: *verum qui omnino nomen habuerint, non ita multos fuisse;* and the common phrase (de off. II. § 19 etc.) *nec ita multo post.* For *non tam* cf. Madvig on de fin. I. § 1.]

Ista etc. 'But what an Asiatic despotism is this of yours.'

[l. 4. *Agmine quadrato.* Tibull. IV. 1. 101, 102: *seu sit opus quadratum acies consistat in agmen, | rectus ut aequatis decurrat frontibus ordo.* Sen. epist. 59. § 7: *ire quadrato agmine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspectus est, pugnae paratum.* Phil. V. § 20 (speaking of the meeting of the senate, 19 Sept. 44, Intr. § 56): *agmine quadrato in aedem Concordiae venit atque in me absentem orationem ex ore impurissimo evomuit. Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti in senatum venire licuisset, caedis initium fecisset a me.*—The *agmen quadratum* was not necessarily a square, as it is in Tibullus, l. c., but a force presenting an even front to an enemy; always used of an army on the alert. Sall. Jug. 100. § 1., Liv. X. 14. § 7, Caes. b. Gall. VIII. 8. § 3. *quadrare* is 'to dress' a line. MARQUARDT.]

[*scutorum lecticas*, 'palanquin-loads of shields;' a humorous use of the constr. which we have in *cadus vini* etc.]

l. 7. *Kal. Iun.* § 100.

§ 109. [l. 9. *egeret*, conj. after *qui* causal. Madvig, § 366.] *neque* correlative to *que* l. 11. or. Catil. II. § 28: *perficiam,...ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis. Neque—et* is far more common. Similarly *et—que* is sometimes found for *et—et*. [Madvig on Cic. de fin. p. 730. 'prorsus ex eodem genere (as *et—que*) est, cum dicitur interdum *neque—que* (de fin. I. § 48, III. § 3); nam etiam *neque* talem separationem significat, ut alterum, si ex negativa in affirmativam formam transitur, tamen particula *et* notari, non per *que* priori adiungi debeat.' Add de divin. I. § 68, II. § 91. Cf. Xen. Mem. I. 2. § 47: οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως ἤρεσκεν, εἴ τε.—Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 609.]

[l. 11. *facinora effecit.* § 42. l. 13 n. de fin. II. § 95: *vide, ne facinus facias*, 'take heed, lest you commit *a crime*.' NAEGELSB.]

[*chirographa.* Intr. n. 160 and 164.]

l. 12. *leges.* Intr. § 53. Phil. I. § 18: *De Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse, chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret* ...... § 19: *Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur? Hac lege sublata videnturne vobis posse Caesaris acta servari?* (on the *leges iudiciariae* see Intr. n. 212)...... § 21: *Altera promulgata lex est ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum provocent, si velint* .... § 23: *Quid quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae iubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui maiestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? quibus cum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur*...... § 24: *...eas leges, quas ipse* (Caesar) *nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de iudiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus?*

l. 14. *Numerum* etc. I. § 19. Intr. n. 211.

l. 17. *nihil lege gravius.* I. § 18: *Ecquid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum eius, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex?...in maximis vero rebus, id est legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.*

l. 18. *sine prom.* I. § 25: *de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possumus; de iis, quae iam latae dicuntur, ne id quidem licuit: illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.* Cf. V. § 7.

l. 19. *alias ut tolleret* etc. i. e. *alias Caesaris leges ut tolleret, ipse leges promulgavit.* Phil. I. §§ 19, 23.

[l. 21. *obtentum.* 'Servatum, custoditum, ratum, non mutatum.' p. Quinct. § 75: *obt. mendacium.* de off. III. § 73: *obt. falsum testamentum.* HEUS. Cf. § 3. l. 10 n.]

[l. 22. *hortis.* Intr. § 34. On the right bank of the Tiber, at the south of the plain under the Janiculus. Hor. s. I. 9. 18 *trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.* Tac. ann. II. 41, Plut. Brut. 20. BECKER, I. 479, 657.]

hortos Pompei. § 68. l. 8 n.

l. 23. *in villam Scipionis.* § 42. l. 7 n. [§ 103. l. 5 n.]. This too Ant. had acquired *ab hasta.* Cf. Phil. III. § 30: *Quid hic victor non audebit, qui nullam adeptus victoriam tanta scelera post Caesaris interitum fecerit? hortos compilarit? ad se ex his omnia ornamenta transtulerit?*

c. XLIII. § 110. [l. 24. *Et.* § 51. l. 31.]

l. 25. *honorem maiorem.* Flor. IV. 2 (= II. 13). § 91, Suet. Caes. 76 (§ 85. l. 4 n.).

l. 26. *pulvinar.* [Serv. ad Virg. G. III. 533: *pulvinaria pro templis ponimus, cum sint proprie lectuli, qui sterni in templis ...consuerunt.* In the *lectisternia* (first introduced B.C. 399, Liv. V. 13), busts of the gods (*capita*, Liv. XL. 59) were laid on these cushions, and viands set before them, while a general festival was kept throughout the city. We generally read of them as connected with *supplicationes* (above, § 13. l. 27, of the thanksgiving for Catilina's defeat; cf. or. Catil. III. § 23: *ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est*, a decree such as frequently appears in Livy). Hor. carm. I. 37. 2 seq. (recommending a thanksgiving for Cleopatra's death): *nunc Saliaribus | ornare pulvinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus, sodales.* MARQUARDT.]

simulacrum (ἄγαλμα), the image of a god)(*statua* (ἀνδριάς). or. Catil. III. § 19: *et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum deiectae.* cf. de divin. II. § 45, p. Arch. § 30. [Plin. h. n. XXXIV. § 9: *ad deum simulacra effigiemque hominum.* ibid. § 15: *simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri... Transiit* (ars) *et a dis ad hominum statuas atque imagines.* ABR.]

l. 27. *fastigium.* Intr. § 22 ad fin. [Plut. Caes. 63. Suet. Caes. 81. (Calpurnia dreamt *collabi fastigium domus.*) de orat. III. § 180: *Capitolii fastigium illud et ceterarum aedium ...necessitas ipsa fabricata est. Nam cum esset habita ratio, quem ad modum ex utraque tecti parte aqua delaberetur, utilitatem templi fastigii dignitas consecuta est; ut, etiamsi in caelo Capitolium statueretur, ubi imber esse non posset, nullam sine fastigio dignitatem habiturum fuisse videatur.* On the asyndeton in the climax cf. § 104. l. 21. *amicus...procurator.*]

ut Iovi etc. Other gods also had their 'special priests;' but the *flamen Dialis, Martialis* and *Quirinalis* were the only *flamines*

maiores, necessarily of patrician blood. The new *flamen divi Iulii* was indeed *nobilis*, but of plebeian descent.

[l. 28. *divo*. This title was conferred on many of the emperors (not on all, e.g. not on Nero or Otho) by a decree of the senate (Plut. Caes. 67) after their death. It was afterwards adopted in the church, 'divus Augustinus' etc. A temple of *divus Iulius* was raised on the site of his *bustum* (Intr. n. 215. cf. ib. §§ 38, 43, Ov. metam. xv. 841).]

l. 29. *inaugurariss?* [On the form, cf. § 19. l. 4 n.]. The *flamines* were chosen by the *pontifex maximus*, and then received from an augur the *inauguratio*, i.e. priestly consecration or ordination, which was performed in the *comitia calata* in presence of the pontifices (Gell. xv. 27. § 1). That a single augur might consecrate, appears also from Macrobius, Sat. III. 13. § 11: *L. Iulius Caesar, qui eum* (Lentulum flaminem Martialem) *inauguravit*. [Phil. XIII. § 41: *Tu, tu, inquam, illum occidisti Lupercalibus: cuius, homo ingratissime, flaminium cur reliquisti?* In B.C. 40, to please Octavianus and the veterans, Ant. allowed himself to be consecrated. (Plut. Ant. 33.) DRUMANN.]

vide, 'look out,' i.e. choose. [So Juv. VIII. 95: *praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis*. cf. Theocr. xv. 2.]

[l. 30. *collegae*. §§ 4, 84. l. 26.]

l. 31. *Caesaris*, cod. Vat.; for which the inferior MSS. have the gloss *tyranni*.

l. 32. *mortui*)(*dei immortalis*. Phil. I. § 13: *An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo?... Fuerit ille Brutus,...adduci tamen non possem ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cuius sepulchrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.*

P. 45. l. 1. *heri*. Intr. § 56. [Sept. 18. In the calendar in Orelli's inscr. II. 398, there are 5 days of *ludi Romani in circo;* i.e. Sept. 19, on which day Cicero professes to be speaking, is added to the original 4 days of the games.]

l. 2. *ludorum Rom*. These games, called also *magni* or *maximi*, were celebrated in honour of Rome's chief divinities, who were united in the Capitoline temple, Iuppiter, Iuno, and Minerva. They were given by the curule ædiles. The proper *ludi Romani* (Sept. 4—12), were followed after an interval of two days by the special *ludi Romani in circo* (originally Sept. 15—18), to which after this year 44 another day was added.

l. 4. *praetextati*, 'in festival attire.' It seems that the augurs used their privilege of wearing the *praetexta* only on festivals or when engaged in the duties of their function.

l. 6. *addendo*. Intr. § 54. n. 215. Phil. I. § 12: *De supplicationibus referebatur* (by Ant. in the senate 1 Sept. 44). [cf. Phil. I. § 13, just cited.] 'Or was it that, while you allowed the thanksgivings (proper to the gods) to be polluted (by the addition of a day consecrated to a dead man), you were unwilling that the sacred cushions should be polluted?' (by that dead man's bust being laid upon them; the *pulvinaria* being brought out on occasion of *supplicationes*). Antonius is reproached with his inconsistency in not enforcing his own decree. [The sentence is one of those so frequent in Gr. and Lat., in which two contrasted clauses are coordinate, where in Eng. the first would be subordinated to the other, and introduced by 'while,' 'though,' or some such particle. Cf. § 75. l. 7. Madvig, Lat. Gr. § 438, and Gr. Synt. § 189, Zumpt, § 781, Matthiä, Gr. Gr. § 622, Buttmann's Index to Demosth. Midias s. v. μέν. Cic. Tusc. disp. I. § 31, II. § 34, p. Sest. §§ 33, 45, 46, p. Sull. § 32, p. C. Rabirio, § 16, p. Mur. § 6. N. D. I. § 23: *ita multa sunt incommoda in vita, ut ea sapientes commodorum compensatione leniant, stulti nec vitare venientia possint nec ferre praesentia;* where the clause *ut—leniant*, is only introduced for the sake of the contrast; we should say 'so many, that though the wise alleviate them, fools can neither avoid nor bear them.' ibid. II. § 18: *An cetera mundus habebit omnia, hoc unum, quod plurimi est, non habebit?* See Xen. memor. I. 6. § 5 and Kühner's n., Demosth. p. 426. l. 26, 449. l. 17, 459. l. 20, 460. l. 23, 502. l. 5. See Addenda, p. 160.]

§ 111. [l. 11. *quid potes dicere cur*, 'on what assignable principle do you'—?]

[l. 14. *eloquentiam—disertissimum*. de or. I. § 94 (the orator Antonius is speaking): *scripsi...disertos me cognosse nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem, quod eum statuebam disertum, qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocres homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare, quae vellet, omnesque omnium rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinerent, fontes animo ac memoria contineret.* ABR.]

[*avum*. Intr. § 1.]

[l. 15. *apertiorem*. *Apertum pectus* was proverbial (Lael. § 97: *ut dicitur*).]

l. 16. *pectus*. § 86. [Phil. XIII. § 31: *Lupercorum mentionem facere audet? neque illius diei memoriam perhorrescit, quo ausus est obrutus vino, unguentis oblitus, nudus gementem populum R. ad servitutem cohortari?*]

[l. 17. *aut* . § 92. l. 27 n.—*hiscere*. In Liv. XLIV. 45. § 10, (*aliquotiens dicere incipientem cum lacrimae praepedissent, quia ipse* dicere *nequiit*) Madvig (emendat. Liv. 591, cf. 619) restores *hiscere* from the MS. 'Neque enim in eo verbo apud Latinos quicquam est iocosi aut nimis humile, sed prorsus respondit ei, quod Germanice dicas: weil er kein Wort hervorzubringen vermöchte; (cf. XXXIX. 12). Idem verbum a librario oblitteratum videbimus XLV. 37. § 13.' Commonly used with *non audere* or *non posse*. Liv. VI. 16. § 3: *nec attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant.* A. W. Ernesti also quotes, for it is a favourite word with Livy, IX. 4. § 7. 6. § 12: *non salutantibus dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse.* X. 19. § 7, XLV. 26. § 6.]

c. XLIV. § 112. [l. 21. *hodiernum diem.* § 110. l. 1 n.]

l. 23. *armatorum.* As the speech was not actually delivered, this must be taken as a description of the manner in which the senate was usually overawed by Ant. Cf. ep. ad fam. X. 2. § 1: *Meum studium honori tuo non defuisset, si aut tuto in senatum aut honeste venire potuissem. Sed nec sine periculo quisquam libere de re publica sentiens versari potest in summa inpunitate gladiorum, nec nostrae dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius et propius audiant armati quam senatores.* [supr. § 8. l. 18 seq., § 15. l. 21. §§ 19, 46, 108.]

l. 24. *Concordiae.* [§§ 15. l. 18 n., 19. l. 31 n.] Phil. V. § 18: *Illud vero taeterrimum non modo adspectu, sed etiam auditu, in cella Concordiae conlocari armatos, latrones, sicarios ; de templo carcerem fieri ; opertis valvis Concordiae, cum inter subsellia senatus versarentur latrones, patres conscriptos sententias dicere.*

l. 26. *Ityraeos.* § 19. l. 5 n.

[l. 27. *Non igitur* etc. Antonius might remember that Cæsar was taken at his word, who discharged his Spanish guard, saying (Suet. 86), *insidias semper imminentes subire semel satius esse, quam cavere semper.* ABR. Dio XLIV. 7 ad fin., Plut. Caes. 57.]

§ 113. P. 46. l. 1. *nobis*, the party of the *optimates*.

l. 3. *minime avara.* § 95. l. 31 n.

l. 4. *sine contumelia.* § 30. l. 5 n. *describo*, portray.

l. 5. *tertiam pensionem*, instalment, to be paid on a fixed day. [Fulvia has already paid two instalments of her debt to the country, in the deaths of her two former husbands, P. Clodius and C. Curio (§ 11) ;] it is high time for her to pay the third by giving you up, for she is a woman (Phil. V. § 11) '*sibi felicior quam viris.*'

l. 6. *ad quos*, the liberators. [*qui ubicumque* etc. 'who carry with them, wherever they go.']

l. 9. *nondum reciperavit.* Cic. ad C. Cassium (ad fam. XII. 1. § 2): *Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda nec hoc cogitandum satis iam habere rem publicam a vobis. Habet illa quidem tantum, quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare, sed contenta non est... Adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni, nihil amplius. Ornamenta vero sua quae reciperavit?* etc.

[*Habet quidem certe* etc. cf. l. 5. 'The people is at no loss whom to choose as rulers ;...at any rate it certainly knows where to look for champions.' Cf. Hand's Tursell. II. 27. p. Sest. § 24: *mali quidem certe nihil pertimescendum.*]

l. 10. *adulescentes.* M. Brutus was born B.C. 85 (Brut. § 324), Cassius was older still. [cf. §§ 52. l. 7, 118. l. 8.]

[l. 11. *quam volent illi cedant.* Cic. N. D. II. § 46: *Hic* quam volet *Epicurus iocetur.* p. Cael. § 67: quam volent *in conviviis faceti sint.* RAMSHORN. Plin. epist. I. 20. § 25. We rather use the pres. than fut., 'as much as they please,' not 'shall please.' This constr. explains the use of *quamvis* with the conj.]

l. 12. *pacis*, with reference to *otio* l. 11.

§ 114. [l. 16. *Quod si.* Madvig, § 449.]

[l. 17. *at.* Madvig, § 437 c. Hand Turs. I. 427, who cites p. Mil. § 93: *si mihi bona re publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala.*]

[l. 19 seq. *Tarquinium* etc. §§ 26, 87.]

[l. 21. *suspitionem.* '*setius* is the same as *sectius* (*secitius*), a form occurring in Plautus, and follows the analogy of *artus* for *arctus*, *autumnus*, and *suspitio* which is for *suspictio*, *suspicio* being an inexplicable form and resting on no authority whatever.' Mr MUNRO in Journal of Philology, IV. 284.]

l. 22. *primum.* So cod. Vat. not *primi ;* cf. Verr. V. § 60: *cognoscite nunc novam praedandi rationem, ab hoc primum excogitatam.* in Cat. III. § 15: *quod mihi primum post urbem conditam togato contigit.*

[*in regnum adpetentem.* Genitives and adverbs are often interposed between the prep. and its case ; occasionally the object governed by an adj. or part. comes between it and the prep. on which it depends. Zumpt, § 794, Madvig, § 469. 2. Ovid. epist. ex Pont. IV. 2. 11: *interque Helicona colentes.* id. ep. heroid. 19. 148: *a tibi suspecto ducit Ulixe genus.* Liv. XXVII. 36. § 2: *ad mercede auxilia conducenda*, where see Weissenborn. Such a position as (Virg. ecl. 6. 19) *ipsis ex vincula sertis*, is only found in the poets.]

l. 26. *caelo.* § 107. l. 28 n.

l. 28. *immortalitatem*, of fame. I. § 34. [The ancient languages have a great advantage in being able to bring contrasted words into juxtaposition naturally and easily. To us 'when this mortal shall have put on immortality' is perhaps the most forcible position in which the words could be arranged. With this example of *annominatio* (§ 25. l. 13 n.) cf. the epitaph of the poet Nævius on himself, the dirge of the old Roman literature (Gell. I. 24. § 2): *Inmortales mortales si foret fas flere, | flerent divae Camenae Naevium poëtam. | itaque postquam est orchi traditus thesauro, | obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina.*]

c. XLV. § 115. [l. 31. *dictaturam.* § 91. l. 21. Intr. § 37.]

l. 31 seq. *pone—tum intelleges.* or. Catil. I. § 8: *Recognosce—; iam intelleges.* [Above, § 104. l. 17 n. Tusc. V. § 100: *Confer—; tum intelleges.*]

P. 47. [l. 1. *nundinatione.* Intr. § 39.]

§ 116. [l. 14. *suis.* 'one's own friends.' So *amor sui* 'self-love.' Nägelsb. cites ad fam. VI. 7. § 4: *cum plurima ad alieni sensus coniecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur;* 'where guess at another man's likings, not one's own judgement, regulates the composition.' de fin. I. § 67: *amicitiae ... effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi.* N. D. III. § 88: *iudicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.*]

l. 15. *quosdam*, as D. Brutus (Dio XLIV. 14), P. and C. Servilius Casca, L. Tillius Cimber, C. Trebonius, L. Minucius Basilus, Serv. Sulpicius Galba, who as Cæsarians joined the conspiracy. Other conspirators, as M. Brutus and C. Cassius, were originally Pompeians, received to favour by Cæsar. [Above, §§ 5. l. 9 n., 26, 27. Plut. Caes. 57.]

[l. 16. *re*, 'respect.' So below, § 117. l. 27. So § 23. *tota re*, 'altogether,' 'in every respect.' *res* often corresponds too to our word 'case.' NAEGELSB.]

[*Fuit* etc. Observe the chiasmus in the next three clauses, *Fuit* begins the first, *effecerat* ends the third; *gesserat* in the second has moved forward two places. So ad Qu. fr. I. 1. § 7: exsistunt *graves controversiae, multae* nascuntur *iniuriae, magnae contentiones* consequuntur. NAEGELSB.]

l. 17. *memoria.* p. Lig. § 35: *qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi iniuriam.* p. Deiot. § 42: *memoriam tuam inplorat, qua vales plurimum.*

litterae. Cæsar was eminent as a historian, orator and (in his work *de analogia*) grammarian; he also composed a great work *de auspiciis*, and one *de astris.* [Cic. Brut. § 252 (Atticus is speaking): *de Caesare et ipse ita iudico et de hoc* (Cic.) *huius generis acerrimo existimatore saepissime audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime; ... ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et eis quidem reconditis et exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus.* see ibid. § 253 on the *de analogia*, dedicated to Cic. Cf. Cic. ap. Suet. Caes. 55, and Suet. c. 56.]

[l. 19, *at tamen*, 'yet at any rate.' Madvig on Cic. de fin. II. § 85: 'Uno modo recte dicitur *at tamen*, ubi *at* in descensu ad minus post *si, si non, etsi* posito superadditur *tamen*, ut de or. III. § 15. Brut. § 15: *si non pari, at grato tamen munere.* ad fam II. 6. § 3. Phil. XIII. § 18: *Caesare dominante veniebamus in senatum, si non libere, at tamen tuto.* de off. II. § 58.']

l. 21. *muneribus* gladiatoriis [Plut. Caes. 55, 57 ad fin., App. b. c. II. 13, 102, Suet. 26, 39.]

monimentis, buildings. ['Circus, forum, amphitheatrum, templum Veneris Genetricis.' ABR. Suet. 44 gives a list of the public works which he planned. *cong. ep.* Dio XLIV. 39, Suet. 38.]

[l. 22. *praemiis.* § 50. l. 11 seq. Sall. Catil. 54. § 2 seq. Cic. himself was a debtor to Cæsar, ad Att. VII. 3. § 8, 8. § 5. DRUMANN.]

l. 23. *clementiae specie.* See Dio XLI. 62 seq., XLIII. 50. [Above, § 71. Cicero himself confutes this ungrateful (§ 5. l. 5) taunt p. Marc. § 31: *Vicit is* (Caesar), *qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret, neque omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem exsilio aut morte dignos iudicaret.* ad fam. VI. 6. § 8: *In Caesare haec sunt; mitis clemensque natura* etc. p. Deiot. §§ 8, 9, 40, 43. Drumann cites ad Att. IX. 16. § 1: *Cum eius* (Caesaris) *clementiam Corfiniensem illam per litteras collaudarissem, rescripsit hoc exemplo:* 'CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S. D. Recte auguraris de me...nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate...Neque illud me movet, quod ii, qui a me dimissi sunt, discessisse dicuntur, ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent; nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui.' Cf. the funeral oration of Ant. on Cæsar (Dio XLIV. 45—47), Plut. Caes. 49, 54, 57. Sall. Catil. 54. §§ 2—4, Intr. § 22.]

c. XLVI. § 117. [l. 28. *inusta.* Often employed where we must be content with a less figurative term; thus (p. Mil. § 33, in Pis. § 30) *leges inurere;* de or. II. § 189: *motus* (emotions) *inusti.* NAEGELSB.]

[l. 29. *tamen.* p. Rabir. Post. § 41: *quae quidem* (dignitas) *in miserrimis rebus huic tamen tribuenda maxima est.* FERR. Cf. the cases in which *tamen* is followed by a participle. Halm on p. Sest. § 140, p. 311.]

§ 118. P. 48. [l. 5. *quibus ortus sis.* Intr. § 1.]

[l. 6. *mecum,* etc. sc. agito. 'As for me, live with me on what terms you think fit, only by all means be reconciled to the state.' Achilles Stat. cites Ter. Hec. V. 1. 38: *nostra utere amicitia, ut voles.* Liv. VIII. 35. § 7: *mecum, ut voles, reverteris in gratiam: populo R. nihil maius praestiteris.* Garatoni adds Cic. N. D. I. § 90: *Verum hoc quidem, ut voletis.*]

l. 7. *videris.* Madvig, § 340. n. 4. [Zumpt, § 511. On this use of the future exact in putting off the consideration of a thing see Madvig, opusc. II. 92: 'coniuncta autem cum differendi notione est curae aut in alium aut in se transferendae, quo simul ea cura differtur.' He gives examples of *dixero, redicro, ivero,* etc. so used by Plautus and Terence, but *videro* (with which Heinsius compares *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς; σὺ ὄψει*) alone remained in common use (ibid. 96, 'Cic. ad Qu. fr. II. 15. § 2: *sed videro,* spatium sumens cogitandi et se deliberaturum promittens'). Tertullian employs *videro* rather singularly, '*viderit persona*' (=quid mihi cum p.?), *cum doctrina mihi quaestio est.* Add to the passages cited in the index of Schütz, de test. anim. c. 1.]

[l. 8. *ipse.* We say, 'I will make protestation for myself' (*de me ipso*); in Lat. and still more in Gr. (*αὐτὴ δι' αὐτῆς* etc.) the *ipse* (*αὐτὸς*) very frequently is attached to the nominative, even where there is not (as here there is *tu—ego*) a contrast between it and a nom. in another clause, but oblique cases are contrasted in the two clauses, as in Liv. II. 9. § 5: *nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi* (not *ipsorum*) *cives.* The reason is that there is a twofold contrast; *within* the clause between subject and object, *without* between the two objects. We lay stress on the latter, the Romans often on the former contrast. See Kühner on Tusc. disp. I. § 73. ad fam. IV. 8. § 1: *non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipse me non possim.* NAEGELSB. Weissenborn adds Liv. I. 11. § 9, 54. § 8. See Madvig, § 487 b, Zumpt, § 696.] *adulescens,* as consul. [B. C. 63, æt. 44. Cf. § 113. l. 10.]

l. 11. *contempsi,* hence Juv. X. 122 seq. (printed on the back of the dedication).

l. 12. *repraesentari,* 'brought nearer to the present,' 'realised.' cf. ep. ad fam. V. 16. § 6: *non debemus exspectare temporis medicinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus.*

[l. 13. *pariat.* Hence Liv. XXI. 18. § 12: *quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.* SIGON.]

§ 119. *abhinc,* with acc. Madvig, § 235. n. 2. [*Abhinc* with the acc. 'ago' (i.e. before this time); with the abl. 'before that time' (=ante). The rarer use with the abl. (Cic. Verr. II. § 130, Plaut. Most. II. 2. 62) may be compared with the use of *adhuc* for *ad id tempus* (Madvig on Cic. de fin. V. c. 6. p. 639) and *etiam nunc* for *etiamtum.* In Cic. ad Att. XII. 17 the abl. is owing to the comparative *amplius. Abhinc* with acc. p. Rosc. com. § 37 (*triennium;* but also *annis*). Verr. I. c. 12, II. c. 9, p. Balb. c. 6, de divin. II. c. 57, Hor. epist. II. 1. 36. etc. MADVIG, *Bemerkungen,* 65, 66.]

l. 14. *prope viginti.* § 1. l. 2 n. [*hoc in templo,* Concordiae. § 15. l. 18.]

negavi. or. Catil. IV. § 3: *si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari.* [Hence in Cic. ap. Dion. XLV. 46. Madvig (opusc. II. 339, 341) justly insists upon this proof of the genuineness of the 4th Catilinarian. Of late years Bake and other Dutch scholars, with the excessive scepticism which infects the countrymen of Hofman Peerlkamp and Cobet ('quem honoris causa nominatum volo') have assailed the first oration; but see Boot's ed. Amst. 1857.]

l. 17. *adeptus—ut,* wanting in cod. Vat. 1st hand, and probably a later interpolation.

l. 21. *cuique,* esp. to you, Antonius. [*Quisque,* both in relative and demonstrative clause. de off. I. § 21: *quod cuique obtigit, id quisque teneat.* de rep. III. c. 11: *tribuere id cuique, quod est quoque dignum.* ad fam. VII. 30. § 2, de fin. IV. § 33. Where there is but one *quisque,* it is commonly in the relative clause (with us, in the demonstrative). In de rep. VI. c. 24 (*mens cuiusque is est quisque*) we must say 'each man's mind is the man himself.' NAEGELSB.]

ADDENDA.

[§ 17. l. 11 n. Add 'In p. Caec. § 48: *cui, cum cuperet eoque consilio venisset,...licitum non sit accedere;* read with PT. in Jordan *qui cum.*' R. S.]

[§ 19. l. 3. *copulatus fuit.* See Madvig's essay, 'Discrimen formarum *amatus sum* et *amatus fui* a veteribus et bonis scriptoribus constantissime servatum,' in his opuscula II. 218 seq., esp. p. 219: 'cum...Latine dicimus, verbi causa, *fixum* est, utrumque significari potest, et fixisse aliquem, participio et verbo substantivo in unam notionem perfecti passivi coalescentibus, et nunc illud fixum manere, ut participium statum aliquem rei significet, verbum, eum statum nunc esse. Nec enim Latinus sermo praeteritum tempus rei gestae et praesens rei agendo effectae et manentis nota ulla distinguit. Cum autem *fixum fuit* dicitur, unum significatur, praeteritum tempus rei effectae et in statu aliquo manentis, ut participio status, verbo eum fuisse, declaretur.' Cf. Zumpt, § 592, Madvig, § 344.]

[§ 21. l. 30 n. Add 'So in Plaut. Trinum. l. 34, 35 (Ritschl, *nimioque hic pluris pauciorum gratiam | faciunt pars hominum quam id quo prosint pluribus*) read with A *quod prosint.*' R. S.]

[§ 25. l. 13 n. Add 'Drakenborch on Liv. XXXVI. 40. § 9. Liv. XXII. 30. § 4: *oneratus magis quam honoratus.*' R. S.]

[§ 104. l. 18 n. 'Ter. Phorm. III. 3. 28: *Praestost: audacissume oneris quidvis impone, et feret.* Some time ago I conjectured *ecferet* (anticipated by Fleckeisen). The usage of poets before Seneca's time is occasionally congruous to the Greek and our own. Virg. ecl. III. 105, 107, 108. On Luc. IV. 486, 487 Cortius cites passages from Augustan age poets.' R. S.]

[§ 110. l. 6 n. Madv. on Cic. de fin. I. § 15: 'de orat. I. § 161. The Greeks make this far plainer than the Latins by their *μέν*. I believe I am right in my *ann. crit.* Dem. F. L. § 91 in my insertion of *μὲν* after *προσκυνοῖμεν* in Plat. III. Rep. 398 A (Bekker suggests a similar insertion in I. Rep. 340 D). I always marvel that in Dem. Mid. p. 583, § 271, Bekk. Oxon. = § 215, *μὲν* should be omitted by so many MSS. The same however (with one or two more) omit *δὲ* in the second clause. I am still more surprised that in S. Paul Rom. vi. 17, *μὲν* is omitted. Surely God is not thanked that men were the servants of sin. Is it fanciful in 1 Corinth. viii. 1, 4, to conjecture *οἶδα μὲν* for *οἴδαμεν*?' R. S.]

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Intr. refers to the sections (§§) and *n.* to the notes of the Introduction. The references to the notes on the text are by section and line.

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